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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-061
Friday
31 March 1989

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FBIS-EEU-89-061 *31 March 1989*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Malile Continues Official Visit to France 1
Visits Institute of Languages *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Parliamentarians Host Lunch *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Talks Conducted With Dumas *[ATA]* 1
Rocard Receives Malile *[AFP]* 2

BULGARIA

Zhivkov, Atanasov Meet With CSSR's Johanes *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Zhivkov, Papandreou To Meet in Late April *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Zhivkov Greets PCI's Occhetto on Election *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 25 Mar]* 3
Balev, BCP Delegation Return From Rome *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 28 Mar]* 3
Danchev Signs Trade Agreements With SFRY *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Political Talks Held With GDR in Sofia *[BTA]* 4
UN Drug Abuse Chief Pays Official Visit 4
Received by Atanasov *[BTA]* 4
Conveys Thanks for Cooperation *[BTA]* 4
Government Decree on 1989 Harvest Outlined *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 23 Mar]* 5
Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-24 Mar 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG Envoy Given Hijacker Extradition Request *[Prague Radio]* 7
Jakes Addresses 30 Mar Central Committee Session *[Prague Radio]* 7
RUDE PRAVO Assails Past, Present Dubcek *[29 Mar]* 16
Czech National Council Approves Alcohol Bill *[CTK]* 21
Joint Austrian Hotel Venture Established *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Mar]* 21

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

New Regulations for Travel to West Adopted *[Hamburg DPA]* 22
Church Leaders Welcome New Law *[Hamburg DPA]* 22
Travel Regulations Decree *[Hamburg DPA]* 22
Krenz Receives U.S. Congressional Delegation *[ADN]* 23
Fischer Meets With Group *[ADN]* 23
Honecker Greets PCI's Occhetto on Reelection *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25-26 Mar]* 24
Honecker Congratulates Natta on Election *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25-26 Mar]* 24
Honecker Condolences for PDRY Victims *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28 Mar]* 24
Honecker Greets Mali People's Democratic Union *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28 Mar]* 24
Norwegian Parliamentarians Visit People's Chamber *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Mar]* 25
NATO Accused of Using 'Horse Trader's Trick' *["He." in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28 Mar]* 25
W. Berlin Youth To Attend Pyongyang Festival *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 Mar]* 25
Leaders' Public Appearances for 16-22 Mar *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* 26
Appearances for 23-29 March *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* 26

HUNGARY

MSZMP Central Committee Session Continues 27
Grosz Notes Gorbachev, 'Arafat Talks *[MTI]* 27
Lukacs Speaks on Reforms *[MTI]* 27
Body Adopts Report on Reforms *[MTI]* 27
*Officials Discuss Foreign Policy Reorientation *[MAGYAR NEMZET 18 Mar]* 28
ROK Foreign Minister Interviewed, Departs *[Budapest TV]* 36
Reaction to Anti-Ceausescu Letter Viewed *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Mar]* 36
Police Officials Discuss Country's Drug Use *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 21 Mar]* 37

POLAND

Jaruzelski Meets With Belgium's Martens *[PAP]* 38
Martens Cited on Debt Issue *[Warsaw TV]* 38
First Round of Polish-EEC Talks Takes Place *[TRYBUNA LUDU 23 Mar]* 38
Olechowski Addresses Dinner for Uruguay's Tassano *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 23 Mar]* 39
USSR Economists Warned of Polish 'Crisis' *[PAP]* 40
Transport Minister Receives FRG Counterpart *[PAP]* 40
Mongolian Party Delegation Received on Visit *[PAP]* 40
Jaruzelski Addresses Pathfinders Congress *[PAP]* 40
Siwicki Addresses Members *[PAP]* 40
PRON Statement on Roundtable, Plenum *[PAP]* 41
Roundtable Teams Continue Meetings *[PAP]* 42
OPZZ Discusses Living Costs, Work Protection *[PAP]* 42
Sejm Extraordinary Committee Accepts New Drafts *[PAP]* 43
Protest Lodged Against Building Nuclear Plant *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Mar]* 43
'Difficult Talks' With Farmers Begin *[PAP]* 43
Applications Accepted for Foreign Exchange Bureaus *[PAP]* 43

ROMANIA

Ambassador to France Recalled for Consultations *[AFP]* 44
Ceausescu Receives Departing Portuguese Envoy *[AGERPRES]* 44
Andrei, Bulgaria's Lukanov Meet, Sign Protocol *[AGERPRES]* 44
Dascalescu Sends Message to Iraq *[Baghdad INA]* 44
Lina Ciobanu Receives Cuban Sports Official *[AGERPRES]* 44
Palestinian Charge d'Affaires Meets Press *[AGERPRES]* 44

YUGOSLAVIA

Kosovo Situation Described; Death Toll Disputed 45
Fear of Coming Weekend *[Ljubljana Radio]* 45
Wounded Not Seeking Aid *[TANJUG]* 45
Possibly 140 Albanians Dead *[Ljubljana Radio]* 45
Arms, Documents Seized *[AFP]* 46
'Peaceful' 31 Mar *[TANJUG]* 46
Official Denies Hundreds Killed *[Belgrade Radio]* 46
Trade Unions Appeal to Workers *[TANJUG]* 47
More Miners at Work *[Belgrade Radio]* 47
719 Workers Charged *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Reaction to Kosovo Violence Continues 47
Ambassador Rejects Reports *[Cologne Deutschland Radio]* 47
Dolanc on 'Armed Uprising' *[TANJUG]* 48
Kucan Gives Speech on Kosovo *[Ljubljana Radio]* 49
Slovene Assembly Adopts Stances *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Slovene Democrats' Statement *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Riots Termed 'Armed Rebellion' *[TANJUG]* 49
Karakusi Says Trouble Ahead *[Belgrade Radio]* 50
Vojvodina Addresses Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 50
Vojvodina SAWP Meets, Elects Officials *[TANJUG]* 50
Serbian Assembly Appoints New Officials *[TANJUG]* 51
Stanovnik Delivers Address to Slovene Assembly *[TANJUG]* 51
Slovene Assembly Chambers Reject FEC Report *[Ljubljana Radio]* 53
Ljubljana Journalists Face Public Order Charge *[TANJUG]* 53
LCY Presidency Explains Refusal To Relieve Suvar *[TANJUG]* 53
Party Reform Document Explained *[BORBA 24 Mar]* 54
Austria's Mock Conducts Talks, Ends Trip 56
Meets With Dizdarevic *[Vienna Radio]* 56
Exchanges Toasts With Loncar *[TANJUG]* 56
Holds Final Talks *[TANJUG]* 57
Departs for Vienna *[TANJUG]* 57
Brigic Meets Wu Xueqian in Beijing *[TANJUG]* 58
Spokesman Condemns Tirana Attitude Toward Unrest *[TANJUG]* 58

Malile Continues Official Visit to France

Visits Institute of Languages

AU3003190789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who is paying a visit to France at the invitation of Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of France, this morning visited the National Institute of Languages and Oriental Civilizations. He was welcomed by the institute's director, Francois [Champagnier de Labriol], as well as French teachers and students who are studying Albanian.

During the discussion, appreciation was expressed for the importance attached in both countries to learning each other's languages, which serves to strengthen the friendly links between the two peoples through their culture and traditions.

Reis Malile was accompanied by Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Paris, and Philippe Legrain, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana.

Parliamentarians Host Lunch

AU3003190889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Michel Berson, chairman of the group of parliamentarians who are members of the France-Albania Friendship Society, and the group's steering board, today hosted a lunch in honor of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and the delegation accompanying him during his visit to France.

Greeting the Albanian minister of foreign affairs, Michel Berson expressed his pleasure at Reis Malile's visit to the French National Assembly. He said that Albania is a small country, but has a great people. The political relations between Albania and France, he added, are very good, and your visit will provide a new impulse to the further development of economic and trade relations between the two countries, so that economic cooperation is placed at the level of the existing political relations.

Reis Malile, on his part, stressed the contribution made by the group of parliamentarians, members of the France-Albania Friendship Society, in extending the cooperation between the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the National Assembly of France, as well as in strengthening the friendship between the two peoples. He wished them further successes in their noble activity, which is of great assistance to the development of cooperation in various fields between Albania and France, in their mutual interest.

The lunch, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was attended by members of the French National Assembly, friends of Albania, and other personalities.

Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Paris, and Philippe Legrain, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana, were also present.

Talks Conducted With Dumas

AU3103111889 Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 31 (ATA)—The talks between the minister of foreign affairs of Albania, Reis Malile, and the minister of foreign affairs of France, Roland Dumas, wound up on March 30 afternoon.

The talks focused on the further strengthening of bilateral relations as well as on some aspects of international situation.

The French minister, Roland Dumas, expressed his special satisfaction on the visit of the minister for foreign affairs of Albania in France, which, as the first official visit by an Albanian foreign minister, is very important. Both our countries have a common political will to further develop their relations, he said, stressing that we respect Albania and wish to further promote our cooperation with it.

Especially in the recent years, the French minister went on, steps forward are made regarding the strengthening of cooperation and dialogue between the two countries, which at present is raised at ministers' level, which constitutes a new stage in these relations. France wishes not only to preserve these political levels, but to further expand them in various fields, as in the parliamentary one and others, he said.

After dwelling upon the hitherto achievements in the field of economic and cultural exchanges, Roland Dumas voiced the readiness of the French Government to further promote them. France, he said, is for the increase of the volume of economic-trade exchanges with Albania, expressing his conviction that various ways and forms to give an impulse to these exchanges can be found through joint efforts. This responds also to the desires of the two parties, the French foreign minister stressed.

The Albanian Government, Reis Malile said further on, is deeply interested in peace and security in Europe. It backs up every step that really contributes to this end. Albania will never fail to render, as until now, its contribution in this respect. It is a member of no military bloc. In Albania, he said, there are no bases of superpowers or of the others. It consistently pursues the policy of

good neighborliness to create understanding and confidence in the region. Such a policy, he stressed, contributes to security in our continent.

Regarding the developments in the Balkans, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, said that the initiated process of Balkan cooperation and understanding is a need dictated by the fundamental interests of the peoples and countries of the region. He underlined that the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania tries to make efforts to expand this cooperation and consolidate good neighborliness with all the Balkan states. Albania upholds that the coming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkans will serve this aim.

The two ministers voiced their worry over the situation in the Balkans and stressed the need of making constructive steps to overcome the difficulties. Likewise, the two ministers were expressed for the preservation of the minorities' rights in the Balkans.

In conclusion, Reis Malile invited the foreign minister of the French Republic, Roland Dumas, to make an official visit to Albania. He answered the invitation with pleasure.

Attending the talks were top officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania and the Foreign Ministry of the French Republic. Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Paris, Ksenofon Nushi, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana, Philippe Legrain.

Rocard Receives Malile

AU3103112689 Paris AFP in English 1057 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Paris, March 31 (AFP)—French Prime Minister Michel Rocard accepted an invitation to visit Albania during a meeting with Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile on Friday, the last full day of his visit here.

Mr. Malile said the date would be negotiated later.

After their meeting, which had been unscheduled, Mr. Malile said they had "briefly taken stock of the very friendly relations" between their countries and "expressed our desire to see them develop further".

His French counterpart Roland Dumas, who has also been invited to visit Albania, on Wednesday said Mr. Malile's visit had "put an end to an anomaly".

France recognised Albania in 1945 and was among the first countries to send an ambassador to Tirana, but Mr. Malile is the first Albanian foreign minister to come here since diplomatic relations were estabished.

Tirana only began to move away from its isolationist policies with the death of its longtime leader Enver Hoxha in 1985.

Mr. Malile said he was very happy with the way his three-day visit had gone.

He was due to tour industrial complexes in the Lyons region in central France later Friday before returning to Tirana on Saturday.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Meet With CSSR's Johanes

AU3003200689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] The friendly working visit to Bulgaria of CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes is continuing. The Czechoslovak guest was received by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the Boyana Residence in Sofia today.

During the talks, both sides emphasized that the processes of renewal under way in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are fundamentally the same as the profound changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and this creates prerequisites for intensifying the cooperation in the fraternal community in order to enrich it with many new, more effective forms and approaches.

The state of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations, which covers the whole spectrum of sociopolitical life, was positively assessed.

It was stated that the Long-Term Program for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia Until the Year 2000 forms a favorable basis for increasing the effectiveness of economic cooperation.

Great attention was paid to topical international questions.

They confirmed complete unanimity of views and assessments of the present situation in Europe and throughout the world. Satisfaction was voiced with the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the importance of the talks on conventional disarmament and on measures for strengthening confidence and security in Europe was stressed. A favorable atmosphere in this respect has been created by the unilateral disarmament measures taken by the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the other Warsaw Pact states.

It was pointed out that Bulgaria's initiatives aimed at strengthening good-neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans are a contribution toward improving the climate on our continent and throughout the world. The same cause is also served by the ideas and proposals of Czechoslovakia concerning central Europe.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon for Jaromir Johanes, which was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, and Stoyan Ovcharov, as well as other Bulgarian and Czechoslovak officials.

The Czechoslovak guest was also received today by State Council Chairman Georgi Atanasov. They discussed matters of mutual interest. It was stressed that the processes of restructuring under way in the two countries create favorable possibilities for intensifying economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

In the afternoon, the Czechoslovak guest and Minister Petur Mladenov visited Plovdiv. Jaromir Johanes laid flowers in front of the Eternal Flame and toured the Common Grave Memorial. He also laid a wreath at the Soviet Soldier's Memorial on the Hill of the Liberators and visited the "Bulgarian Revival" architectural complex in old Plovdiv.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister met with Pantaley Pachov, first secretary of the Plovdiv Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Zhivkov, Papandreou To Meet in Late April

AU3003152689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] In Athens today, Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, received Georgi Karamanev, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Bulgaria to Greece, who handed him a letter from State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov.

The letter high assesses the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations and in this context, points out the crucial importance of the regular meetings between the leaders of the two friendly countries. The letter stresses that Bulgaria and Greece continually seek opportunities to stimulate and enrich their mutual relations, and to diversify the forms in which these relations are implemented.

Agreement has been reached for a working meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Andreas Papandreou to take place on the Bulgarian-Greek border during the second half of April.

Zhivkov Greets PCI's Occhetto on Election

AU2803082089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], has sent a message to Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], on his election to this post. The message expresses wishes for success in his activity for implementing the new course that was adopted by the 18th PCI Congress, which aims at renewing the party and achieving a broad unity of the leftist forces in Italy and Europe in the name of peace and progress.

The message confirms our readiness and willingness to further develop cooperation between the BCP and the PCI on the basis of international solidarity and respect for diversity, independence, and equality.

Balev, BCP Delegation Return From Rome

AU2903124389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party delegation led by Comrade Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, returned yesterday [27 March] from Rome, where it had taken part in the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party.

Danchev Signs Trade Agreements With SFRY

AU2403195989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Petko Danchev, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the "Biotechnologies and Chemical Industry" Association, paid a visit to Yugoslavia.

He signed trade agreements amounting to a value of over $80 million. Agreements on the establishment of numerous joint productions and of trade and engineering enterprises were signed.

The two sides discussed in detail opportunities for expanding cooperation between the two countries through the establishment of joint enterprises, making use of custom-free zones in border trade, and by engaging in joint ventures in third countries.

The agreements signed considerably increase the promising chances that exchange between the two countries in the biotechnological and chemical industries may increase by over 40 percent.

Political Talks Held With GDR in Sofia

AU3003182989 Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—Delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the German Democratic Republic held political consultations here between March 28 and 30, 1989.

The agenda included a wide range of questions concerning East-West relations, and the sides focused on the new favourable tendencies in the development of the situation in Europe. An emphasis was laid on the importance of the consistent implementation of the principles of new political thinking and the strict observance by all states participating in the Helsinki process of the accords reached at the Vienna follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the creation of stable conditions for peace and mutually advantageous cooperation on the continent.

The same questions were discussed at the talks which the GDR delegation had with Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and with Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

UN Drug Abuse Chief Pays Official Visit

Received by Atanasov

AU2903175489 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Giuseppe di Gennaro, UN deputy secretary general and executive director of the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, who is paying a visit here at the invitation of Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

Mr Georgi Atanasov informed him about Bulgaria's uncompromising policy in the struggle against the illegal trafficking of narcotics and psychotropic substances. He said that because of her geographical location, Bulgaria is often used by smugglers for the transit trafficking of narcotics. The efforts aimed at preventing such crimes have marked a definite progress, but nevertheless it is beyond the powers of one state to tackle the problem by itself. That is why the Bulgarian Government attaches great importance to international cooperation in this field.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers pointed out that Bulgaria regards with great respect the work of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and highly appreciates the efforts of its executive director. Bulgaria is ready to fully support and to make her contribution to the realization of all initiatives of the fund in its noble activity, he said.

Mr Giuseppe di Gennaro underlined that the organization he is in charge of highly appreciates the uncompromising measures taken by Bulgaria in her struggle against the illegal trafficking of narcotics. He assured the chairman of the Council of Ministers that the fund will ever more actively work for extending international interaction in this field, achieving the highly humane goals it has set itself and carrying out its noble tasks.

Conveys Thanks for Cooperation

AU2903200189 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Efficient international cooperation is needed in the struggle against the production and trafficking of narcotics, which has been constantly growing in the past few years, pointed out Mr Giuseppe di Gennaro, UN deputy secretary general and executive director of the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, in an interview given to the BTA.

The struggle against drug abuse is much talked about, but too little is being done, Mr Di Gennaro said, and expressed his conviction that the world public opinion has not yet grown to the consciousness of how alarming the situation is.

According to Mr Di Gennaro, the sale of "traditional" narcotics of natural origin as cannabis, opium, coca and their derivatives is growing at a very quick pace, although there has been some success in controlling their production in some Latin American and Asian countries. The synthetic narcotics (the designer drugs), produced chemically, should be added to them. Referring to American official data, he said that the profits from the criminal trade in narcotics amount to more than 500 milliard dollars per year worldwide. The main reasons

are the lack of efficient control in the countries where the narcotics are produced and the great operative possibilities of the organized criminal world.

The idea that narcotics are trafficked only by "national" criminal organizations as the Sicilian Mafia or the "Camorra" of Naples is outdated, Mr Di Gennaro pointed out. He said that in the past few years the organized criminal world has become internationalized to a great degree. Now powerful international organizations exercise control over the production and the sale of narcotics in many regions of the world. That is why the struggle against drug abuse can be successfully conducted only through extensive international cooperation based on a single strategy, Mr Di Gennaro went on to say. He called for effective political and financial support for the fund, whose most important task is to work out the strategy and to coordinate the activity of the world public aimed at tackling this problem.

Mr Di Gennaro told about the contacts he had in Bulgaria, where he is paying a visit at the invitation of Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. The UN deputy secretary general expressed his satisfaction with Bulgaria's readiness to actively participate in the struggle against drug abuse. Mr Di Gennaro discussed with the competent Bulgarian authorities the main lines along which Bulgaria should cooperate with the UN fund along with a project for the installation of most advanced narcotic-detecting devices at the check-points along the Bulgaro-Turkish border. The possibilities for organized cooperation among the Balkan countries under the aegis of the United Nations in the struggle against the "white death" were also under consideration. Bulgaria shall actively participate in this cooperation.

In conclusion, Mr Giuseppe di Gennaro expressed his gratitude for the readiness of the Bulgarian Government to give support to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control in its noble struggle.

Government Decree on 1989 Harvest Outlined

AU2403144689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Mar 89 p 6

[Text] The Council of Ministers Decree of 20 March sets the requirement for a new approach in harvesting vegetables, fruit, grapes, and other agricultural products. The need is also stressed for a much better organization of the local harvest campaigns in order to collect the harvest by the end of October. This is a task of national importance, in which all organs and organizations, employees, students, workers, and other citizens must take part, the document points out. Participation must be based on contracts with the brigades and agro-industrial complexes.

The executive committees of the municipal and oblast people's councils should draw up complete estimates of the additional requirements for labor resources, equipment, and packing materials by 15 April, and should draft their operational plans by the same date. State-social reviews are to be conducted prior to each campaign in order to check the state of readiness of the agricultural equipment for collecting the harvest.

The executive committees of the municipal and oblast people's councils are allotted the task of determining, by the end of May, what transport vehicles for the harvest products are to be provided by the other enterprises and organizations. It is also their concern to make appropriate changes in the working hours of institutions, trade organizations, cooperatives, and enterprises that operate a 1-shift system during the period from 1 June through 30 October, in order to provide time for the people's broad participation in gathering the harvest. Employees and workers may participate for periods of up to 30 days, which are counted as official paid leave, while the amounts earned during this period are to be paid in full, according to the norms and scales operating in the agricultural organizations.

The decree also points out measures for improving the organization of purchasing activities, which are binding on the relevant organizations, the Central Cooperative Union, and the agricultural brigades. By the end of May, the entire system must be reorganized for the simultaneous purchase and sale of fresh fruit and vegetables.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-24 Mar

AU2503171489

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 17-24 March monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

In Sofia on 20 March, Todor Zhivkov, with Dobri Dzhurov in attendance, received Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and his chief of staff, Army General Vladimir Lobov. (BTA 1326 GMT 20 Mar 89)

Georgi Atanasov, with Dobri Dzhurov taking part, held talks in Sofia on 20 March with Army Generals Petr Lushev and Vladimir Lobov. (BTA 1326 GMT 20 Mar 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee [CC] and chairman of the State Council, visited the municipality of Sevlievo on 22 March. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 22 Mar 89) In Sofia on 23 March, Zhivkov received the departing UK ambassador, John Harold Fosset. (Sofia Domestic 2030 GMT 23 Mar 89)

In Sofia on 18 March, Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Army General Vladimir Govorov, deputy minister of defense of the USSR and chief of Civil Defense of the Soviet Union. (Sofia Domestic 1730 GMT 18 Mar 89) In Sofia on 20, March

Atanasov received Nikolay Garetovskiy, chairman of the Board of the USSR State Bank. (BTA 1838 GMT 20 Mar 89) In Sofia on 22 March, Atanasov received the newly appointed ambassadors of Hungary, Sandor Simics, (Sofia Domestic 1600 GMT 22 Mar 89) and the DPRK, Kim Pyong-il. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 22 Mar 89) In Sofia on 23 March, Atanasov received Oleg Anfimov, minister of the electrical equipment industry of the USSR, (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 23 Mar 89) and Heinz Duerr, chairman of the Managerial Board of Allgemeine Elektricitaets-Gesellschaft (AEG) in the FRG. (BTA 1838 GMT 23 Mar 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, departed from Sofia on 17 March with a BCP delegation to take part in the congress of the Communist Party of Italy in Rome. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 17 Mar 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, spoke at a meeting in Sofia on 17 March of the all-Army party aktiv. (Sofia Domestic 1730 GMT 17 Mar 89) At Sofia airport on 20 March, Dzhurov welcomed Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and his chief of staff, Army Gen Vladimir Lobov, (BTA 0821 GMT 20 Mar 89) and held talks with them the same day in Sofia. (BTA 1845 GMT 20 Mar 89)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP CC, attended a municipal conference on intellectual development in Ruse on 22 March. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 22 Mar 89)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, attended a festive meeting in Razgrad on 20 March to mark the 50th anniversary of the formation of the local party organization. (Sofia Domestic 2030 GMT 20 Mar 89) In Razgrad on 22 March, he attended a municipal conference on intellectual development. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 22 Mar 89)

In Sofia on 22 March, Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received Andonis Khristodhoulou, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus. (BTA 1842 GMT 22 Mar 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association, arrived in Yugoslavia on 21 March at the head of a Bulgarian economic delegation. (Sofia Domestic 2000 GMT 21 Mar 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, held talks in Sofia on 23 March with a group of French businessmen led by Jean Bourlain. (BTA 1735 GMT 23 Mar 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, signed an agreement in Sofia on 23 March with Heinz Duerr, chairman of the Managerial Board of the FRG firm of AEG. (BTA 1838 GMT 23 Mar 89) In Sofia he also received the group of French businessmen led by Jean Boulain that was visiting Bulgaria on 23 March. (BTA 1735 GMT 23 Mar 89)

In Sofia on 21 March, Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP CC Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Aleksandr Okatov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Mar 89 p 2)

In Sofia on 16 March, Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received Kaveke Katamila, member of the Politburo of the South-West African People's Organization. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Mar 89 p 2)

FRG Envoy Given Hijacker Extradition Request

LD3003164689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Today Peter Metzeger, a representative of the FRG Embassy in Prague, was at the Foreign Ministry handed a written note requesting the extradition of the aircraft hijackers to CSSR authorities. This follows the verbal request on this matter that was made yesterday to FRG Ambassador Hermann Huber by First Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky. [passage omitted]

The CSSR authorities established that the offenders were two CSSR juvenile citizens: Stefan Macicko, born 10 December 1972, and Dusan Styk, born 13 February 1973, both of whom lived in the Banska Bystrica District.

The hijackers surrendered to the FRG authorities.

The relevant CSSR bodies have begun criminal proceedings on this matter in accordance with the CSSR criminal law on threatening the security of air transportation.

Because the crime was committed on CSSR territory, it has been requested that the offenders be extradited to the CSSR authorities.

The Foreign Ministry expresses its conviction that the FRG authorities will consider the CSSR's request in the interest of joint efforts against international terrorism, as has also been noted in the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE. This is a case of extraditing persons who took part in a terrorist act, and terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstances. Therefore, the CSSR Foreign Ministry expresses the conviction that the CSSR request to extradite the hijackers will be granted.

Jakes Addresses 30 Mar Central Committee Session

LD3003230189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Mar 89

["Main ideas" from the address by Milos Jakes, Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee general secretary, to the 13th CPCZ Central Committee session on 30 March in Prague—recorded]

[Text] We are meeting at the party Central Committee session in 1989, which signifies the beginning of yet another exceptionally significant period in the work of our party and all of society. This year we will commemorate significant milestones in the history of our party and in the international communist and workers movement. Sixty years will have passed since the fifth party congress and 40 years since the ninth party congress. These congresses represented an example of the revolutionary approach and ability of the party and its leadership to provide a reply to the pressing requirements of the times, to set out a corresponding strategic line which the people could comprehend and support, and to set out the appropriate policies and work methods.

We shall also soon remember the 20th anniversary of the April 1969 session of our party Central Committee. Its results created decisive prerequisites for the political defeat of right-wing and antisocialist forces and for leading the party and the society out of a profound crisis. That session elected Comrade Gustav Husak first secretary of the party's Central Committee. He in a complicated situation then took upon himself extremely difficult tasks. He has great merit in that the new party leadership, which was formed gradually, succeeded in a relatively short time and coped with the process of consolidating and renewing the true values of socialism in our country and setting out at the 14th party congress the program of further socialist development.

This year we shall also mark the 70th anniversary of the Communist Internationale, a great school of internationalism, which helped in creating and implementing the political, ideological, and organizational foundations of Marxist-Leninist parties. Another highlight of this year is that we have begun intensive preparations for the 18th party congress, which should assess the development of the party and society since the 17th congress and which should adopt significant program and action conclusions for further progress in implementing the policy of economic and social restructuring, in developing the process of democratization, and in improving our party's activity. These tasks demand extensive theoretical, political, and organizational work by the whole party as well as the efficient utilization and development of the power and creative abilities of the broadest masses of the people.

At the same time we must pay great attention to fulfilling social and economic development tasks. We realize the fact that economic stability is the foundation for strengthening the people's trust and support for party policy, that it is the basis for the country's overall political stability. This year we should also ensure the setting up of political, organizational, cadre, and legislative conditions and the speeding up of the restructuring the economic mechanism. This is so that, in accordance with the program statement of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [SR], it can be implemented in the entire national economy by 1 January 1990. The period since the last Central Committee session demonstrated yet again how the domestic and international political processes are being unusually speeded up; life is presenting us with continually new questions and problems which must be answered with consideration and the highest responsibility. It has been confirmed yet again what a principled change of thinking, practical activity, and an entire way of life in view of the past and future development of socialism is required by the process of restructuring and democratization, what difficult and complicated work is involved.

We have stressed many times that there is no alternative to restructuring and democratization if we want to overcome the force of stereotypes and backward mechanisms in the economy and other spheres and to achieve new desirable dynamism in the development of our

society. The current period is particularly complicated and full of contradictions when the influence of the old economic mechanisms still prevails and the new ones are just beginning to be introduced. We must progress in an organized and coordinated way, constantly bearing in mind that restructuring may be complicated not only by the inconsistent fulfillment of the aims and resolutions that we had adopted, but also by the attempts to speed up development regardless of whether or not realistic conditions have been created for it.

However, in no circumstances can we tolerate delay tactics, excessive caution, and lagging behind wherever it is evidently possible to progress faster. THe work ahead of us will require great effort, realism, and resoluteness. We must not allow ourselves to be directed away by various pressures and possible conflicts and risks from solving the key tasks upon which the fate of restructuring and democratization depends as well as the further healthy development of society. One must assess the current results, knowledge, and experience critically and draw lessons from them. We must correct mistakes and make the necessary corrections as required in practice. This cannot be done without close cooperation with central organs and the enterprise sphere. For the development of our society it is important for the majority of citizens to stand on the positions of socialism, and to support the internal and foreign policies of the party, the National Front, and the socialist state. They want peace and order in the country so that the country can work and live in peace. The broad masses of the working and young people during the demonstrations on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of victorious February 1948 expressed their desire to proceed along the path of socialist development. The atmosphere was influenced by the statement that the party Central Committee Presidium issued on this occasion.

Relations toward the socialist society are manifested by citizens through their labor and social activities, which are aimed at fulfilling tasks in the social and economic sectors and in other sectors of social life. This is why we can evaluate the political situation in the country as stabilized. However, this does not mean that various interests and contradictions do not express themselves in our society. One must be aware of the fact that the actual attitudes and views of the people are being influenced by the results of our social and economic development, problems connected with this, the overall progress of restructuring, the situation at workplaces, and the standards of meeting the needs of the people, particularly through the internal market and services provided. Various opposition groups and antisocialist forces and intensive hostile broadcasts by some Western radio stations also have a certain influence. People's thinking is also influenced by the overall situation in the world, as well as the complicated nature of developments in some socialist countries. It is also significant that the adopted resolutions are often not being fulfilled or are not being fulfilled in time and that overdue problems are not being tackled. Standards of ideological work still do not correspond to the demands of the times.

With regard to the restructuring of the economic mechanism, attention is currently being directed at creating further state enterprises in the production-technical, circulation, and scientific-research base. It must be said that trends continue for the preservation of the existing unsuitable structure, where there are clear reasons for basic organizational changes. This also concerns the sphere of national committees, because to date, of 654 state enterprises, only 191 have been founded by the local national committee. These possibilities should be utilized to the fullest.

Efforts to promote narrow group interest are still persisting. The founders must take these facts into account when making decisions on creating further state enterprises, and they must fulfill their tasks much more actively. It also seems that enterprises do not sufficiently concentrate on the rationalization of organizational structures and of enterprise managements, especially with regard to working out self-financing [khozraschot] for individual workplaces, the reinforcement of the principle of merit pay, and cadre reinforcement of managerial structures as the fundamental prerequisites for the changeover to a new economic mechanism.

In this direction it is not necessary to wait for anything, for this is not an affair of the center but rather especially one of the enterprises themselves.

An important political task that follows from the law on national enterprise was the foundation of party committees, which carry out elections for self-management and directors.

As for the elections of self-managing bodies and directors, it is necessary to pay greater attention than hitherto to their cadre preparation and political-organizational security. It is important to ensure that a corresponding number of Communists, nonparty members, members of other political parties, and members of other National Front organizations are among working collectives. It is also necessary to emphasize the greater representation of prominent workers, young prospective cadres, and women.

An important demand everywhere is to care for the development of the practical activity of the councils of working collectives, and in this sense to secure the retraining of its chairmen and members and organize an exchange of experience on the councils' activity. This is the duty, above all, of the management of enterprises and their founders.

In selecting candidates for elections it is necessary to make better use of the possibility of competition, and to deal also with the sociopsychological implications of the elections, to care for the ethics and the cultural standard of their course. The results of the elections can be assessed positively, despite existing problems. In the majority of cases the elections contributed to the increased interest of workers in implementing their

enterprise's tasks. The fact that at places proposed candidates were not elected (?cannot throw doubt on the correctness of the idea of elections). This was predominantly caused by undervaluing political, organizational, and agitation work in their preparatory stages. The main thing is that the party bodies and organizations and the founders of state enterprises really understand the situation and the atmosphere in relevant working collectives, who forms them and how, and how to react to them in a fitting manner.

Another reason I mention this is to rule out attempts to misuse elections to remove from their posts capable and dedicated comrades who have taken an active part in building socialism, who are consistently acting in tune with the interests of society as a whole, and who demonstrate the potential to cope with the new tasks.

As far as the method of carrying out the elections is concerned, the purpose of cadre work and of the actual elections of managerial staff must be seen as ensuring that on the basis of democratic choice we place at the head of work collectives the best and highly demanding people who are capable of implementing the restructuring process and of working in the new conditions created by the comprehensive application of the principles of the new economic mechanism. Such managers must always enjoy our support, because to choose and elect undemanding managers will eventually run counter to the interests of the work collective itself.

Experience also shows that the preparations and course of elections of self-management bodies and of directors must be accompanied to a much greater extent by the mobilization of work collectives for fulfilling and overfulfilling this year's tasks, and not by weakening the work effort. Following the 12th session of the Central Committee, further steps were taken in restructuring the central bodies and institutions. At the present stage their internal organizational arrangement is gradually being fine-tuned, and the number of their workers is continuing to be reduced, but not evenly enough. Here there is a need for greater consistency. At the same time, however, we cannot allow it to be believed that the workers released from the central bodies are generally considered to be incompetent bureaucrats. On the whole they are experienced people of considerable achievements, and they must be treated with high ethics, tact, and respect.

The main thing that must be stressed in the coming period is, in particular, a change in the content, style, and method of work in the central bodies and institutions, and the shaping of a unified executive management center in tune with the new demands placed on central management and planning by economic and social restructuring. In this respect it is vital to move more quickly and to show greater consistency and responsibility. It cannot be merely a question of changing the structure of legislation and norms; rather, the point is to formulate specific tools, methods, and styles of work to be employed by the center and by its different segments during the transition period, and above all, after the introduction of restructuring. Leading functionaries must realize that the way in which the center understands and applies restructuring will also be projected into the state enterprises. If economic reform is to succeed, it means that traditional planning must be fundamentally altered. The plan cannot cushion inefficient enterprises and tolerate existing shortcomings.

The attitude of the central bodies to the establishment of the state enterprises also needs to be improved. They cannot shrug off responsibility for what happens in the enterprises, the quality of their production, and the way in which tasks of meeting consumer demand are fulfilled. This responsibility of the central bodies remains. The point is to apply it more actively by new forms and methods of work. Direct assistance to enterprises in introducing the new mechanism must be reflected more significantly in their activity.

Comrades, side by side with the unfolding economic reform, the Presidium and the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat also paid great attention to the fulfilment of the socioeconomic tasks. It is possible to say that the results for 1988, about which you were informed by the report of the Federal Statistical Office, are better than those for the first years of the 8th 5-Year Plan. Despite this, and particularly in qualitative indicators, they do not reach the level of the 5-year plan. We managed to surpass the planned creation of national income by 2,500 million [currency not specified]. However, a considerable portion of the funds that were created were drained by the partial payment of foreign debts. The dynamics of the increase in the social productivity of labor were almost two-fold compared with the 2 preceding years of the 5-year plan, and they provided 91 percent of the increase in national income.

Despite certain progress, we cannot be satisfied with the rate of reducing costs and particularly of reducing material-intensive use. The decrease in the intensiveness of production occurred first and foremost due to bad weather. Serious problems remain in foreign trade, especially in exports to hard-currency markets. We have not succeeded in eliminating long-range shortcomings in capital construction, either. The concern for improving the material and cultural standard of the people has naturally always been and remains the main purpose of the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state. This is not, however, a matter of subjective wishes. Instead, it is primarily a matter of realistic possibilities and the desirable creation of financial resources, to which each must contribute in a conscientious and responsible manner.

It is not, after all, possible—as we often view things—as a producer to be happy with what I myself do, to seek ways to make a profit; and on the other hand, as a consumer, to sharply criticize the fact that this or that is not available or that it is of low quality. It is also not possible to continue on the path of the unsubstantiated

increase of wages and of paying out money for which we did not work. To continue increasing wages without labor productivity corresponding to this growth and without ensuring that production is carried out in a desirable structure and with corresponding quality, would mean deepening the imbalance of the national economy and inflationary trends, the burden of which would be borne first and foremost by the workers.

Our efforts to stabilize the domestic market, where considerable shortcomings continue to be evident, would also be unrealistic. To solve them, the governments are adopting effective measures aimed above all at expanding our domestic production but also at increasing imports of consumer goods. Overall it is possible to say that the present economic situation requires that we mobilize all efforts and reserves to successfully fulfill this year's tasks. To do this, it is necessary to make better use of developing the initiative of the workers. We discussed this thoroughly at the last session of the party Central Committee. What was said about the preceding years is fully valid, and it is also coming to the forefront with an added poignancy. This is true because contrary to our plans, serious shortcomings are evident in attaining this year's plan targets. The discrepancy between the intentions of the 5-year plan and the economic plans of organizations is further deepening. In a number of cases the interests of the enterprise sphere are at variance with the requirements of society. The tasks of exporting to nonsocialist countries are not provided for in the economic plans, either. At the same time, requirements are placed for imports in excess of the state plan level, imports that we can often do without. To succumb to these trends, to want to solve the problems of foreign indebtedness would be an irresponsible policy, one that would threaten the future development of the country and one which would transfer the solution of problems and difficulties to the years to come.

It cannot be said that we have not encountered these trends before. At the present time, however, when we are preparing to embark on the conditions of the new economic mechanism, we must view these kinds of approaches as being particularly dangerous. They are frequently speculative in nature. They seek to achieve more advantageous initial conditions for setting the economic tools and norms that are to be applied from 1 January 1990. This also has a political aspect, because what is at stake is the way in which restructuring operates, it efficiency, and the attainment of the objectives we are pursuing through its implementation. These critical comments are aimed not only at the enterprise sphere. We must ask ourselves what role the center plays? Do our central bodies and ministries genuinely function as a unified economic center? If we look back at the provisions made for fulfilling the planned tasks at the end of last year and the fulfillment of this year's plan, we can say quite openly that we cannot be satisfied with their activity or with the effectiveness of their work. Consequently, we must demand that the bodies operating both within a single industry and those spanning more than one industry organize the fulfillment of trasks in keeping with the intentions of the state plan. After all, these bodies bear joint responsibiity for ensuring that the needs of society as a whole are met.

It has already been pointed out that society, the people, and managerial cadres want changes, but they are often unwilling to bear the consequences of change, consequences that mean goodbye to complacency and egalitarianism, and which mean taking personal responsibility and working more efficiently. There is great room for improvements in the use of nonmaterial resources of economic growth, such as science and technology, the organization of work, and people's qualifications, initiative, willingness, and interest in buckling down to the task. In this context we must again point out the need to promote fair remuneration, for this is a crucial way of enhancing motivation for honest and high-quality work, for the best end results, for improving the moral climate, and for strengthening discipline and order. We must realize that unless the tools of restructuring exert a direct influence on the whole work collective and on individuals, it cannot produce what we expect of it: greater output, the rational use of the resources entrusted to us, and the spirit of enterprise—in short, greater responsibility for the results achieved.

In addition to tackling the topical tasks of ensuring the fulfillment of this and next year's plans, we cannot neglect work on finalizing the long-term outlook for the economic and social development of the CSSR, of which the guidelines for the Ninth 5-Year Plan will also form a part. It is important that these documents set the path for intensifying the process of fundamental structural changes using the results of scientific and technical development as a vital precondition for modernizing the production equipment infrastructure, for raising the technical and economic standard and quality of products, and for the more effective tackling of long-term problems of socioeconomic development. We cannot waver any longer over structural changes; we must set about effecting them more decisively, even at the cost of acceptable risks. Our approach, however, must be comprehensive, both in the material aspect and from the viewpoint of its sociopolitical ramifications.

One has to realize that restructuring will inevitably bring about a reorientation of the activities of a number of enterprises, as well as changes to the work of many people. Considerable attention in the past period was paid by the Central Committee Presidium, the federal government, and the national government to ecological questions. At the same time, they also analyzed the problems of ecological investments whose implementation is not proceeding quickly enough. As you know, talks were recently held in Prague between government experts of neighboring countries on questions of cooperation in protecting the environment. These talks stem from the initiative of the CSSR Government, an initiative launched by Comrade Adamec. Ecological problems, whose solution is inseparably connected with the

overall safeguarding of social and economic development and the people's living standards, will also be discussed in the 1st half of this year at a plenary session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

In the period following the 12th Central Committee session, the process of social restructuring was developed. Full-speed work on drafting the new CSSR constitution began. On this occasion, a session of the CPCZ commission and the National Front was held in January which discussed the contents and principles of this fundamental state law and ways of iplementing it. The Central Committee Presidium discussed the individual parts of the proposals on the political and legal principles of the new constitution. It is our wish that they be fully prepared by the end of this year, then submitted to the party Central Committee and then to the congress. Naturally, it is expected that they will be submitted for popular discussion. The Presidium will inform the Central Committee about the progress of the work.

Proposals to improve the system of general elections which were discussed and duly supported by the National Front Central Committee Presidium are also aimed at deepening socialist democracy. Their focal point rests in a new and broader understanding of proposing and selecting National Front candidates by creating multimandate districts. In practice we want—on 20 April in the by- elections to the Federal Assembly and the National Councils—to verify the method of multicandidate elections. This was commented on in the press. Some steps are gradually being taken toward improving our legal code. The Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils adopted, in harmony with public opinion, legal measures to strengthen the protection of public order and the rights of citizens.

We also adopted bills on agendas, on deputies to the Federal Assembly, and on the Czech and Slovak National Councils. The idea is to create prerequisites for improving the quality of work by legislative corps and to reinforce the authority of deputies. In the past period there was also a continued implementation of measures to improve the work of the national committees and to increase their jurisdiction and responsibility in safeguarding the comprehensive development of territorial entities. Progress has been made in resolving the new system of budgetary and financial economizing of the national committees by expanding their own resources.

A continuous, pressing task is to substantially increase the contribution of the national committees to the development of services by making use of all forms that are provided for by the measures adopted by the government. In spite of some positive results, the progress in this is still slow. [Words indistinct] in the past months the life of political parties and mass organizations affiliated in the National Front. The process of the gradual adoption and implementation of the proposals for increasing their role in the creation, implementation, and control of the implementation of the policy is continuing. Experience so far shows that substantially greater attention must be devoted to the activity of the primary elements... [changes thought] of the primary organizations of the National Front, particularly to the increase of their independence and to the development of the specific features in the content and methods of their work.

Overall, it is necessary to further reinforce the role of the National Front as a political base of socialist pluralism in our country and the role of a wide dialogue of citizens, of all parts of the political, social, and public life on the socialist principles and aims of our country's development.

Since the beginning of this year, the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation has been developing its activity. It seems that it can make a significant contribution to the understanding and application of human rights and liberties in a socialist conception, in their unity with civic responsibility, and in the development of a dialogue on these issues.

In the entire scale of tasks and problems that we have dealt with, care for improving the party's work and increasing its ability to act stood at the center of the Central Committee bodies' attention following the 12th session. Toward this end, the Presidium and the Secretariat continuously analyzed the findings from the work of the party bodies and organizations on the various areas of social life. The implementation of the tasks of economic and social restructuring aimed at improving the quality of the party's internal life and increasing Communists' responsibility, is aided by the activity of the party Central Control and Audit Commission. Party Central Committee bodies use the results of its control and audit activity in their managerial work. Central Committee standing commissions also use these results to develop their activity. The practice has shown that they make a significant contribution to increasing the participation of the Central Committee candidates and members and other experts in the creation, implementation, and control of the implementation of party policy.

The principles of the CPCZ program are being formulated, and the intensive preparation of new statutes is continuing. Work has continued on preparing the political board of the party Central Committee for the 18th CPCZ Congress and on preparing the background material for its delegates. The responsibility of Central Committee secretaries for its individual sections has also been defined. Overall, with regard to economic and social restructuring, it must be seen that this is a living, creative process that cannot avoid being explored. Emphasis must be put on being able to see the changes that we are carrying out being more significantly reflected in the people's life and work. At the same time, however, we must realize that for them to show how effective they are, the application of the principles of restructuring will also take some time.

Therefore, we must not be misled at all when we judge matters by using hasty conclusions that could reinforce trends for returning to old, obsolete, and administrative-directive methods of work. Attention must also be paid to much more effective explanations of adopted laws and documents, which people often do not know well enough or even at all.

Comrades, in the period since the 12th Central Committee session, important international political events have taken place. The proposals delivered by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session last December met with a lively response and support. Wide activity in the USSR and in the socialist countries in seeking and asserting the path leading to the improvement and release of international tension continued. The dialogue between the USSR and the PRC was important, for its results create prerequisites for talks involving the chief representatives of the two countries and for the full normalization of their mutual relations. We are convinced that this is a very important step for reinforcing the positions of socialism on an international scale.

With the signing of the final document, the Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE ended. The Central Committee Presidium and the government discussed its conclusions and again confirmed Czechoslovakia's readiness to continue to take part in the development of the all-European process. From these stands in keeping with the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states and the principles of the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries, our delegation also approached the current talks on limiting conventional arms in Europe and the measures on strengthening confidence and security on our continent.

As for conventional disarmament in Europe, the socialist countries adopted unilateral decisions, as has been announced. We want to make use of the troop and arms cuts in our Army to help with the needs of our economy and specifically to augment the construction industry, to secure tasks connected with the construction of the capital of Prague, to improve the state of railway transport, and to make use of the freed capacities to produce goods in demand.

It is also necessary to recall that disarmament cannot be achieved unilaterally. There are limits that cannot be overstepped in the interest of our own security. The NATO member states do not react to our proposals. We cannot underestimate the voices calling for the continuation of the policy from a position of strength, those demanding the modernization of tactical missiles and other types of weaponry, and so on. Further disarmament must be based on the principle of mutuality.

The signing of the final document of the Vienna meeting opens new possibilities for deepening all-around cooperation and good-neighborly relations in Europe. This was also the aim of the CSSR initiative of February 1988. The results of the Vienna meeting will undoubtedly bring many positive things. We emphasize the comprehensive approach to observing international agreements and pledges with regard to the contents of the Helsinki Final Act, in which is anchored the inalienable right of every state's sovereignty. Some Western political forces and media are interfering in our internal affairs and are directly seeking to organize pressures in our country. This is against the spirit of Helsinki.

When we speak about foreign political connections to our internal development, we must keep in mind that restructuring is also taking place in the other socialist countries. On the one hand it creates favorable conditions for the exchange of experience; but, on the other hand, certain complications cannot be overlooked. There are problems in the economic sphere. The fraternal countries also struggle with a number of difficulties in this area. This makes the process of developing cooperation on the new economic basis more difficult. These are issues related to the improvement of the international socialist division of labor, including the mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA framework from the viewpoint of the requirements of the current stage of development. This was also the topic of deliberations at the recent working meeting of the secretaries for economic issues of the central committees of the fraternal parties of CEMA member states, which was held in Prague. It resulted in further proximity of views as to the path of building a joint socialist market.

The meeting of the highest party representatives of the CMEA member states should play a significant role in further deepening all-around cooperation of the socialist countries, and should also take place in Prague. We coasider this meeting very necessary. Priority is being given to all-around cooperation with the USSR which, under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, was the first to set out upon the path of economic and social restructuring.

It is with interest that we follow the processes of revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet society, which are for us very informative and inspiring. At the present time our foremost interest was focused on the election of peoples deputies, which was marked by profound democratism and a great increase of social and political activity of Soviet citizens.

From the point of view of further development of bilateral Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, of great significance was the official friendly visit of Comrade Adamec to the USSR, his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, and talks with Nikolay Ryzhkov. During this visit the concept of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR was signed for the coming 15-20 years, which delimits the basic guidelines of cooperation on a qualitatively new level. They also discussed other important questions concerning deliveries of oil, gas, and raw materials; a reduction in the extraction of uranium in our country; utilization of

capacities of many significant Czechoslovak enterprises; deliveries of consumer goods and economic instruments; and giving incentive to the development of this cooperation, especially its modern forms.

Comrades, fulfillment of tasks of last—and particularly this—year was being approached in a situation marked by an overt manifestation of forces which are not friendly toward our party and the socialist system, and which would like to misuse the process of restructuring and democratization for their own aims; that is, for destabilization of society. Their program includes criticism of absolutely everything; attempts to compromise the leading role of the party; and attempts to question socialism, the very restructuring which is aimed at overcoming shortcomings, and the development of socialist values. They strive to poison the social consciousness with uncertainty, to provoke ill-considererd actions, and to advocate political pluralism in the bourgeois sense of the word. Their background is represented virtually by the same people as in 1968, and they are also using the same methods.

In this effort, as we have already said, broad international support is being given to them by the capitalist countries. The opposition groups—as we witnessed particularly in January during the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square—in the interest of gaining their aims, decided to change tactics, to embark upon direct confrontation with state power and to infringe upon public order. This is a new phenomenon in their activity, which started to show itself last year. They appeal for civil disobedience. Whoever stands in their way becomes the target of their ruthless psychological pressure and threats. This is a part of the effort to intimidate politically active and involved people so that they do not support party policy. They also succeeded in manipulating some inexperienced young people, and are being joined also by various criminal elements.

They call for the independence of the courts, but if they are justly sentenced they then quickly organize petitions with the aim of intimidating the courts. We cannot give in to these pressures. Laws must be valid for everyone. This is in harmony with the opinions of the overwhelming majority of the people who demand that all illegal acts, whoever may have committed them, be dealt with uncompromisingly and receive the attention of the organs maintaining public order.

In this context I would like to respond to some of those who are calling for the People's Militia to be abolished, claiming that it has outlived its usefulness. The truth is just the opposite. Yes, it is a thorn in the side of those who would like to continue their antisocialist activity. That is why we stress that we value the dedicated work of the members of the People's Militia, who are the leading activists of our party. Not only do they help to protect socialism, factories, and order for the people, but they also stand in the front ranks of the development of initiative in the workplace, and they take an active part in the tasks of restructuring and democratization. That is why they deserve our gratitude, in the same way that we value the activity of the security forces, the courts, and the prosecution bodies in protecting public order and in upholding the socialist rule of law.

The attempts by opposition forces to influence public opinion into calling into question the right of the state to intervene against illegal activity, breaches of public order, and even attacks on the foundations of the social system by invoking the Vienna document are a new phenomenon. They have managed to organize a petition and to win the support of certain cultural and social science workers in this. We resolutely reject this pressure campaign. Most of the members of the creative arts unions and the most important artists have not involved themselves in this. Our party has always relied upon the strength and support of the creative intelligentsia, and it continues to count on it today, all the more so because we are tackling the new and genuinely revolutionary tasks of restructuring and democratizing our society.

Certain former leading functionaries who were obliged to leave the Communist Party are now again becoming active. They are passing themselves off as the pioneers of restructuring, and they derive from this the demand for the rehabilitation of the policy of 1968, and especially of the people who were active at that time—including their return to political life. They are demanding a reassessment of the causes of the 1968 crisis, for which they bear responsibility. Our position on this matter remains unchanged: It proceeds from the "Lessons from the crisis in the party and society following the 13th party congress."

In the struggle against antisocialist activity we cannot rely solely upon state power and the law. The crucial thing must be our political sway and the active exposure of the true aims of the antisocialistist hostile forces. We must win over all decent people, including those who are misguided, vacillating, and unclear about a number of questions for constructive work for the benefit of restructuring. The main way to achieve this is for Communists to work consistently and actively in the ranks of the working class, and with farmers, the intelligentsia, and in all strata of society. Great attention must be paid to young people in particular. They must be entrusted with responsible tasks, for the enemy forces are counting on their lack of experience in politics and life.

We must also demand to a greater extent that the younger generation carries out its duties in creative activity and civic discipline. We must give young people the ability to be able to respect the values of socialism, to see their life prospects in socialism, and to correctly understand the purpose of our policy and that the success of restructuring and democratization especially is in their interest.

At the same time our approaches must match the mentality of young people. Dialogue, however, cannot be held on the streets and where the people are anonymous. It must be conducted at the workplace, in the classroom, at gatherings of citizens, at national committees and in public organizations, and where people know one another. The medium of anonymity is exactly what the hostile forces require. It suits them because it allows them to employ demagogy and aggression to influence the public, and to influence young people in particular. The most important thing in the fight against these forces is to resolutely solve problems and eradicate shortcomings, and to continue to consistently implement the aims of restructuring in everyday life to aid the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the manner set out at the sessions of the party Central Committee.

It is precisely the shortcomings and problems that are exploited by the opposition groups. They are trying to make light of the measures taken for tackling them, and to continually raise new issues for whose speedy resolution the prerequisites do not exist. All this must be discussed with the people. Attention also needs to be paid to those who have lost their party membership. I emphasize once again that this has been the party line since the 14th Congress, but it is not always consistently applied, and this is a shortcoming. We must take an interest in what former party members, who work honestly, are doing and how they live, what opportunities are available to foster an active part in society, we must show them that we see most of them as allies in implementing party policy. Once again it needs to be pointed out that anyone whose intentions are sincere has the opportunity to take part in the struggle for restructuring and democratization on socialist principles, and we count on them fully.

Our policy is a program of constructive work in the quest to elevate socialism to a new, qualitatively higher level in the interests of a better life for our people. The statement issued by the party Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of the February Victory in 1948 proceeds from this and takes this as its basis. Its aim is to activate and unite, on a socialist platform, all the healthy forces in society that are concerned for the future destiny and development of their socialist country in consistent implementation of the policy of economic and social restructuring. It must be said that this has not yet been understood in some party and National Front organizations. The statement by the Central Committee Presidium has nonetheless met a considerable response in the party and broad strata of our society. It is being endorsed by work collectives, individuals, political parties, trade unions, youth unions, and other organizations affiliated with the National Front, by the state organs and national committees.

We highly value the standpoints adopted on the statement by the working class, which bears the brunt of the struggle for speeding up socioeconomic development. We value the attitudes of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, and other strata of the people also living up to their responsibility. Up until now the party Central Committee has received directly some 14,000 letters, resolutions, and standpoints. Thousands more have been received by the lower bodies. They contain not only support for the statement, but they increasingly point out how the collectives and organizations intend to contribute to putting it into practice. They express the will of the people to work in a calm and creative atmosphere. At the same time, in discussing the statement, attention was drawn to a number of problems that call for more resolute handling, both on the party and on the economic, state, and social level. Much attention must be paid to this at all levels and in all sectors.

The party Central Committee Presidium is convinced that the Central Committee will support the statement to mark the 41st anniversary of the February victory. Everywhere we must see to it that active work for the implementation of its stipulations continues to remain the focus of the attention of all party, state, and economic bodies and organizations, of the whole of the National Front, and of every work and citizens' collective.

Every honest citizen can rely on the fact that we shall not relinquish the policy of social restructuring, that we shall implement it consistently, supported by involved participation of the people inasmuch as this is the prerequisite for its fulfillment in the interest of strengthening socialism in our country.

Comrades, one has to stress yet again that the decisive force in all activities in the society is represented by our party. It depends on the standard and efficiency of its work, whether it will be possible to cope with the tasks we face. From this point of view it is necessary to continually return to the ideas and conclusions of the ninth session of the party's Central Committee and implement them more resolutely. One has to say openly that this is not the case everywhere. The demand to substantially increase the quality of party work is the more pressing since, as we have already said, we have embarked upon the period of intensive preparations for the 18th party congress. It is important that the party might act everywhere as a true political vanguard. We must organize our ranks according to the demands of difficult tasks of restructuring. One cannot identify the role of the party Central Committee with omnipotence, that is, with responsibility for anything that might happen anywhere.

Every link of party, state, economic, and social structure has its competence, which it must fulfill, and must not lay blame on other organs. Everywhere we must develop powerful, politically organizational work, and again learn how to wage active political struggle for implementing the party guidelines. No resolution or law in themselves can do anything. It is desirable in this direction to revert to the past for instruction, for example, to the times of collectivization, whose 40th anniversary we

will commemorate this year, when the party was concentrating on implementing this revolutionary aim, which brought about good results. Communists cannot remain anonymous. They must be active everywhere as a true militant force. They must set examples in work and in life. We must ensure that every member and candidate member knows party policy and is identified with it. This is also the fundamental prerequisite for actively fighting for it.

Connected with this is the need to devote great care to improving the quality of the membership base of the party. We do not stress its numerical growth, but above all, we stress quality, both of the current members, as well as those being accepted to party ranks in the corresponding social and age composition. Great political capital for our party is represented by its prewar and meritorious members. We must work with them actively; we must use their experiences, as has been the case recently, above all, in educating young communists. It is natural and correct that primary organizations assess party and social-wide questions. But the main thing is to devote attention to implementing the policy of the party at workplaces and other places where the party is active. The idea is to clarify the tasks, the contribution of every party organization, every party organ, toward implementing the intentions of restructuring and democratization, safeguarding the tasks of the 5-year plan. This requires that party organs and organizations do not become blinkered, which is often the case, but that they work with people and among people, so that their activity might be aimed at labor collectives and collectives of citizens.

Great stress must be laid on efficiency of ideological work in all its forms, theory of propaganda and agitation, activity of the communication media. Fulfillment of the conclusions which were adopted at the 10th Central Committee session for this sphere must be followed more consistently; militancy and persuasion ability in ideological work must be increased. The idea is that ideological influence might be closely connected with what the party and society are living through at the moment, and what tasks and problems they are solving.

Socialism is going through a period of transfer to a new stage of its development. This requires on the one hand to master and implement new views and approaches to a number of questions, but at the same time not to permit the erosion of socialist values. In keeping with the pushing through and with implementing the program of restructuring, we point nowadays, in a more open and critical manner, to the problems and shortcomings which we must tackle. However, this does not mean the disparagement of the selfless work of the past generations. From this premise must proceed ideological work, the task of which is to defend socialism and its achievements, everything good which was done, to assist in overcoming the shortcomings and inertia, to explain the necessity for changes, the ways out and further prospects for the development of socialism. Also related to this is its role in developing a critical and open view of the past and on the reality of the life of our society. It is also necessary to recall once again that if ideological work is to be effective, then it must be representative for all communists, and I would like to stress that it must be the same for management workers at all levels and sections.

The media have a great responsibility in forming the overall atmosphere in the party and in society. There is much to be improved in their work, despite the work which they carried out and which we value. At issue are both the promptness and the topicality of information, the high professional and convincing standard, as well as the commitment of publicists.

At issue is—and I place a special stress on this—that it is always possible to see clearly with whom the journalists, editors, and commentators are siding. It is necessary to show and generalize to a greater degree the positive examples, approaches, and experiences of the collectives and individual citizens who are consistently pursuing their targets and whose work is turning up well. We spoke about these and other questions at the 10th party Central Committee session and at the recent meeting with the leading employees of the press, radio, and television. It is first and foremost that these people bear responsibility for a consistent implementation of the tasks which were set out in this sphere.

The thing which we must particularly pursue at this time is the party's ideological, organizational, and action unity on all levels starting with the Central Committee via regional and district committees and committees at factories and enterprises right down to the party's primary organizations. The platform for their creating and strengthening can and must be everywhere, only the line of the 17th congress, the policy of restructuring and democratization set out on the 7th and specified at the following Central Committee sessions. The demonstrations of private interpretation of the party policy or the rendering of empty promises must not be permitted anywhere. Unity is a decisive condition of the success in our work. It cannot be achieved by command, nor can it be achieved by unrestrained polemics, but first and foremost it can be achieved through a comradely, democratic exchange of views and through uniting the views on a constructive, active, and energetic implementation of the party's approved policy.

As has already been said, we shall shortly recall the 40th anniversary of the important landmark in the life of our party and society—the 9th party congress, which set out the general line of the socialist construction in our country. Of its important thoughts and conclusion, the words of Klement Gottwald about the party and the significance of its vanguard role and unity are especially topical today. I quote: We must closely guard and cultivate the unity, the greatness, and the action-capability of our party—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We can never repeat enough what the party means. Without the party, there would be no people's

democratic republic; without the party there would be no victorious February; without the party there would be no guarantees that we do not depart from the path toward socialism. These words express a historical experience of our party and represent for us a reliable compass for the present time and for the future. Even nowadays the fact is absolutely valid, that without the party, without its unity and action capability, the process of restructuring and democratization in the interest of strengthening socialism could not be successful.

RUDE PRAVO Assails Past, Present Dubcek

AU3003150289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 89 p 3

[Karel Horak article: "In the Role of the 'Savior' of Socialism; Annotatiions on Some of A. Dubcek's Statements to Foreign Information Media"]

[Text] **We will shortly be marking an important anniversary in the life of our party and society. Twenty years ago—at the April session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee in 1969—Comrade Gustav Husak was elected the head of the CPCZ.**

And what brought about the need for the change in the highest party post? The then first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Alexander Dubcek, did not ensure the fulfillment of tasks resulting from the August and November session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968. Instead of the development of the process of consolidation, there continued a very unfavorable situation in all spheres of social and economic life. He did not return to the policy set by the January session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968, the objective of which was to develop socialism further, perfect the work of the party, and democratize social life.

Today, A. Dubcek is again trying to obtain public exposure. In any case, his efforts to give long interviews right and left to the foreign media attests to that. This "communicativeness" of his is not being exploited by coincidence. Certain circles abroad like to use Dubcek as an advocate who duly defends their interests—to misuse the process of restructuring and democratization in our country in order to slander it.

In view of the role he played in the years of crisis, as well as in view of his personal vanity and megalomania, he seems to them to be a particularly suitable person. That was also one of the reasons why foreign anticommunist centers "reactivated" him last year, and gave him the chance to "speak again."

Dubcek is glorified in the West; major newspapers publish interviews with him, he issues "declarations," and he assesses developments in our country. One Italian university even conferred an honorary doctorate on him. All this is intended to attract the attention of the world—and our—public to his name. One can say that he has willingly accepted the role, trying to make the situation of an actor without a role because of his artistic failure appear like that of a prima ballerina at the peak of her glory.

Therefore, it is necessary to return to some of his statements meant for the foreign public, to provide an answer to them.

"An Outsider Has Won"

Alexander Dubcek was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia from 1963 on. We was recommended for that post by A. Novotny. It was also on A. Novotny's proposal that A. Dubcek was elected first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The election was a compromise because neither the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium nor the commission that was established at the session of the Central Committee at the end of December 1967 could agree on a candidate for this important post. One of his co-workers during the years of crisis—the then director of the Czechoslovak Radio, today an emigree and deputy of the European Parliament for the Italian Socialist Party—J. Pelikan, wrote about this in CORRIERE DELLA SERA on 5 January 1978:

"His candidacy was quickly acceptable to all, because many people were convinced that Dubcek would not be able to cope with the situation, and would only remain in the post for a short time.... To general surprise at home and abroad, an outsider won.... Dubcek himself was surprised most of all.... He did not have a clear concept of future policy...."

The purpose and objective of the January 1968 CPCZ Central Committee session was to create conditions for overcoming policy errors, to eliminate shortcomings from the work of the party, state, and economic bodies, to develop socialist democracy, to activate the party and society, and to ensure that the economy performed better. To put it concisely, by eliminating negative phenomena and administrative and bureaucratic methods of management, socialism was to be made stronger and prerequisites were to be created for its further development.

The reality, however, was quite different. The new party leadership did not ensure that the lower CPCZ bodies and the primary organizations were informed about the purpose and the objectives of the January session, and it did not work out a directive for the preparations for annual membership meetings and regional party conferences. This made it possible for the interpretation of the conclusions of the January session to be monopolized by representatives of the right in the CPCZ Central Committee, the "men of January," as they depicted themselves, men such as O. Sik, F. Kriegel, J. Spacek, V. Slavik, J. Smrkovsky, V. Boruvka, F. Vodslon, and others. They grossly distorted the content and the results

of the session. The right took over many of the information media, and with their help it unleashed a—first careful, but a few weeks later already an open—campaign against the party, the socialist system, and the state.

The result of this course of the party leadership, for which A. Dubcek is personally responsible, was that within a short time rightist and antisocialist forces took charge of the situation in state bodies, social organizations, and throughout the country, forces that changed the slogans of the program reform into their exact opposite—into the destruction of socialism. One of the active personalities of the right, A.J. Liehm, expressed this quite unambiguously in the French periodical L' EXPRESS: **"The issue of seizing power is on the agenda in Czechoslovakia...."**

Our country was on the verge of civil war.

In the interviews that A. Dubcek has currently been giving to bourgeois information media, he defends the developments in those days. He sees nothing wrong with the policy he was implementing. According to him, in Czechoslovakia there existed neither revisionism nor antisocialist forces, and if "some excesses" occurred, the leadership, allegedly, was strong enough and had the means to deal with them. According to him, until August 1968 simply everything was in order in our country, developments were on the correct course, there was no need to change anything as regards those developments.

Free Scope for Disruptive Forces

After the January 1968 session, the renewed CPCZ Central Committee Presidium met for the first time only 3 weeks later! At that time the representatives of the right in the CPCZ Central Committee already had the situation, including the information media, "in hand," and started attacking the party, functionaries loyal to socialism, the Security Corps, the Army, the People's Militia, the justice bodies, and the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.

Hundreds of resolutions and letters sent at that time to the CPCZ Central Committee drew attention to the fact that some leading officials were interpreting the conclusions of the January session in their own way. Party organizations and bodies, as well as some Presidium members, demanded the early convocation of a new CPCZ Central Committee session. However, Dubcek rejected those demands.

The CPCZ Central Committee session was convened only at the end of March and the beginning of April 1968. Not to debate the political situation, but to discuss a program of action and cadre questions.

A correct law on rehabilitation was adopted; in practice, however, it was misused to rehabilitate spies, traitors, agents of foreign intelligence services, and the pre-February [1948] enemies of socialism. The situation reached the point when even the murderers of functionaries of the party organization and the national committee in Babice were to be rehabilitated. Not only were large sums of money paid to enemies of socialism as compensation, but military ranks and posts were also given back to them.

Various organizations sprouted like mushrooms after rain, among them some that did not even try to hide their antisocialist program, organizations such as the so-called KAN (Club of Committed Non-Party Members) and the so-called K-231 (a club named after an article of the Criminal Code). Members of the Vlajka Party [World War II Czech political party whose members collaborated with Nazi Germany], collaborators, and representatives of the [prewar] Agrarian Party went into action. The founding and the activity of new organizations were to be regulated by a law on the National Front. F. Kriegel and J. Smrkovsky were responsible for the fact that the law was never adopted.

Dubcek not only kept silent about and supported these negative phenomena—which were in fact creating new political structures to replace the socialist structures—but he even passed them off as a part and achievement of the "revival" process. And he has not changeed his standpoints to this day.

Arrogant Attitude to the Central Committee

The objective of the right at the April CPCZ Central Committee session in 1968 was to voice a lack of confidence in the CPCZ Central Committee and speedily convene an extraordinary congress, at which it wanted to get this highest party body in their power. It did not succeed! The great majority of the Central Committee rejected that attempt. However, it did succeed regarding the solution of cadre questions. Its exponents F. Kriegel and J. Smrkovsky were nominated to head the government, the National Front, and the National Assembly; O. Sik became deputy premier. The right also strengthened its positions in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

Today we simply must say a few words about about A. Dubcek's attitude toward the CPCZ Central Committee. In his appearances today he says that he was "making politics approved by the Central Committee." In reality he had a arrogant attitude to the Central Committee. He claimed that this body lost the trust of the people, that it had no "mandate," that "Novotny's people" were in it. The Central Committee vexed him, because it still was an authoritative body composed overwhelmingly of honorable Communists. Consequently, he deliberately circumvented it, failed to keep it informed, and when the CPCZ Central Committee adopted resolutions which did not suit him or the other representatives of the right, he simply ignored them.

A. Dubcek did not submit to the Central Committee for discussion many an issue that was important at that time. He also did not supply truthful information to the Central Committee Presidium about many important problems. For example, he obligated the Czechoslovak participants in international negotiations with the fraternal parties to be silent in order to be able to present his own quite distorted interpretation in the Presidium.

He also kept secret the letter of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo of 17 August 1968, which pointed out the failure to fulfill given promises. When asked about it during the meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium in the night of 20-21 August 1968, he answered: "Why waste time, Comrades? There is nothing in the letter that serious that we have to deal with it...."

Or let us take his attitude to documents adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee and even to what he himself used to say. In his report to the May session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968 and in the adopted resolution, **the danger from the right was described as the main danger to the party.** In the resolution, the CPCZ Central Committee states that should anticommunist elements try to launch an attack on socialism, the party would mobilize its forces and beat back such an attempt. And what happened after the session? Nothing. No measures were adopted. The activity of KAN, the K 231, and other counterrevolutionary organizations continued without hindrance.

What he understood by resolutely combatting anticommunist elements and mobilizing the party against them is best shown by his course of action following the publication of the counterrevolutionary pamphlet "2000 Words." The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium repudiated it and entrusted Dubcek with the task of inserting into an already prepared television speech a passage in which he would condemn the "2000 Words." It did not happen. And at the CPCZ district conferences which followed its publication, all rightist members of the Presidium identified themselves with it or made light of it. Out of a program of counterrevolution a document in support of "Dubcek's policy" was made.

Stillborn

The April session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968 approved the CPCZ's Action Program, a document which was to provide direction for the further activity of the party and society. Its content is a great compromise. When it was being worked out prior to the session and at the session itself, revisionist and Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPCZ Central Committee waged a battle for each formulation. Many of the formulations became blunted in that struggle. However, the Action Program also contains correct slogans, standpoints, and programmatic objectives, as well as principles that are at variance with socialist principles, which revise the Marxist-Leninist approaches toward the construction of socialism.

The Action Program met the same fate as the majority of the CPCZ Central Committee resolutions of that year. As early as at its adoption, the rightist forces lost interest. In the press they depicted it as "stillborn," because it did not come up to their expectations. At that time they were already thinking in different categories—they were thinking about a program that would totally negate the socialist principles.

The Action Program would obviously have been forgotten and would only be the subject of historical study had Dubcek—with the active help of the information media in the West—not made it into a "hit" now. In an interview for L'UNITA, newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, and in his other appearances, he systematically returns to it and, at variance with the realities of the developments in 1968, he asserts that the Action Program was the document in accordance with which the so-called revival process was being implemented. At the same time he intentionally selects and stresses only those passages from it that are relatively correct or formulated in general terms, so that they can be given any meaning. In his appearances A. Dubcek conceals not only the fact that the Action Program has many time-contingent weak spots, but—in particular—that the actual policy that he was practicing had nothing in common with the Action Program. After all, does this document say anything about the possibility of an attack on the Security Corps, the People's Militia, the party and its policy, about spreading nationalism and anti-Sovietism, about antisocialist forces' "free" activities and their organizing themselves, about subversion of the state bodies and paralyzing their activity, about attempts to smash the concept of the socialist economy, about the manhunt of honorable Communists and progressively-minded citizens, or about the development of the Republic that would end with a changed social system—as, later in emigration, many former representatives of the right in the CPCZ Central Committee admitted? A. Dubcek's balancing act around the Action Program is supposed to be the affirmation of the argument promptly devised by representatives of the rightist forces of the years of crisis: That the so-called revival process in 1968 was the "predecessor of the restructuring in the USSR," that it was "identical with or similar to Soviet restructuring," that restructuring, which is being realized by the CPSU, has "rehabilitated the so-called Prague Spring."

This argumentation is supposed to sustain their demands that the period of crisis be "reassessed," the policy of the right and its representatives rehabilitated, and an atmosphere be created in which it is understood that if the CPCZ is serious about restructuring, it must continue the policy of the crisis years.

Words Were at Odds With Deeds

From the entire development up to August 1968 it is obvious that A. Dubcek gradually moved fully and knowingly to a revisionist, rightist platform, and was activating it. He knew very well what was going on in the

party and in the country. His attention was drawn to it by numerous letters from individuals, party organizations, and units of the People's Militia. Even the then Interior Minister Pavel submitted two reports, which quite clearly noted an **activation of intelligence services of the capitalist states in the direction of Czechoslovakia, and the systematically increasing activity of domestic antisocialist forces of various kinds.**

Today Dubcek "knows nothing" about this, maintaining ad nauseam (most recently in an interview for Voice of America and the BBC) that there was no counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia, that socialism had not been threatened, and that the international assistance was directed against the policy of rectifying the mistakes of the past. How totally his words contradict the truth that has been proved, inter alia, by a most "competent" person—by P. Tigrid, CIA agent and chief editor of an emigre periodical published in Paris, who wrote in his book "Political Emigration":

"The Prague Spring was a sign of the disintegration of that system which the Soviet (and not only Soviet) vernacular calls a socialist system...both counterrevolution and the dismantling of socialism were on the daily agenda in Czechoslovakia...."

To this very day Dubcek claims personal credit for refraining from applying power measures against the K-231 group and other similar excesses (his chaste term for antisocialist activities)...

Already at that time he acted as a two-faced politician and most irresponsible person. He followed the tactics according to which one should "promise everything, but do nothing." At the conference of leading CPCZ district and regional committee secretaries, the meeting of the aktiv of People's Militia, and even the CPCZ Central Committee's May session, he called the right-wing danger the main danger and spoke of the need to mobilize the party to protect socialist achievements; but in actual fact he did nothing. On the other hand he accepted the tribute paid to him by the reactionaries and granted them further basic political concessions.

He acted in the same way toward our allies, assuring them that effective measures would be taken to eliminate the counterrevolution; however, no measures were taken at any time. On the contrary: The antisocialist and anti-Soviet manifestations after these meetings became more intense. Literally nationalist passions were unleashed both during the Czechoslovak-Soviet negotiations in Cierna and during the international conference in Bratislava.

His irresponsibility deprived the party leadership of all international credibility; the representatives of the allied countries no longer believed in our ability to cope with the increasingly deteriorating situation. Facts prove that, in the face of the onslaught of the counterrevolution, Dubcek did not even want to take any measures.

An open outbreak of the counterrevolution was prevented by the international assistance of the five allied countries. The conclusions approved at the CPCZ Central Committee session of 31 August 1968 provided the chance to overcome the negative phenomena and to consolidate the situation in the party and the society in a relatively short time. Although he bore immense responsibility for the developments up to August, A. Dubcek remained first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; however, the next few months showed that he had learned nothing—for he continued to act as he had acted prior to August. **His words contradicted his deeds.**

According to the Motto "The Worse, the Better"

The CPCZ Central Committee session in November 1968 uncovered the role of antisocialist forces and termed **right-wing opportunism the main danger in the party.** Dubcek delivered a report at that session. The adopted resolution committed all party bodies and agencies to unify the healthy forces in the party on the platform of Marxism-Leninism, to fight against all violations of party unity, not to permit the organization of pressure actions, and to part ways with those who did not want to follow the party line. The adopted resolution was in its way a consolidation program and Dubcek, too, voted for it. Today he hypocritically professes allegiance to the conclusions of that November 1968 resolution—for instance, in his interview for Voice of America on 27 June 1988—posing as a fighter for its implementation. But with sleight of hand, most recently in a letter he sent to the 17th Congress of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), he denies everything, claiming that during his term of office the CPCZ Central Committee had adopted no stand on the dangerous activities of right-wing forces in the party and society; moreover, his present evaluation of the situation at that time is completely different from his evaluation at the November 1968 plenum.

From his position as Central Committee first secretary, he did nothing to put the November resolution into practice. He labeled the actions of Marxist-Leninist forces as breaking up party unity. The campaigns and provocative antisocialist and anti-Soviet demonstrations on the occasion of the 51st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the students' strike, the campaign for the election of J. Smrkovsky as chairman of the Federal Assembly, the events around J. Palach's self-immolation [Palachiadu]—simply everything which was directed against consolidation and which intensified the crisis in the party and in society—he regarded as support for the "progressive" post-January policy of the party. He was content with the fact that young people, deceived by the right, wearing badges with his picture on their lapels and chanting his name, burned Soviet flags in the streets while shouting antisocialist and anti-Soviet slogans.

Time flew by and neither consolidation in the party nor in society made progress. Instead, unrest, chaos, and insecurity proliferated. The right opted for a gamble. By

whipping up passions nonstop, by organizing various campaigns, and by spreading moral and psychological terror, it wanted to demonstrate that in our country there will never be peace until the Soviet troops withdraw and until the pre-August policy is continued. Dubcek bore the greatest responsibility for this gamble and for the fact that the conclusions of the November resolution were not implemented.

"The Ideal Destroyer of His Own Work"

Consolidation could be guaranteed only by a change of policy. And that was not possible without changing the person at the head of the party. For this reason Dubcek was recalled from his function as CPCZ Central Committee first secretary at the CPCZ Central Committee meeting in April 1969.

Today he is spreading opinions that he was unseated from his function by an "external force." As he does in all other issues, in this issue he adapts reality to suit his own purposes, to propagate his own person, to make himself seem interesting. A. Dubcek was recalled from his function and later expelled from the party because he **abandoned the Marxist-Leninist line and crossed over to a revisionist platform, and because the policy which he enforced and implemented parted ways with the party and interests of the people. He led the party and society into a deep crisis and caused it and socialism immeasurable damage. He bears great personal responsibility for the fact that the chance provided by the January meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee was not taken.**

Many testimonies demonstrate the real opinion of him held by those who glorified him and who today once again sing his praises as an honest politician who never stopped being a communist. For example, Mlynar, when he resigned from his function as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee in November 1968, gave as the reason **"that it is no longer possible to work with that...."** (he used an unbecoming expression). On the BBC on 13 December 1987, Sik stated: "Dubcek was weak and incapable of leading, without an opinion and without a conviction of his own." Svitak, the main KAN ideologue, today an emigrant, wrote in 1979 that both before and after August 1968 Dubcek "did not understand what was happening", and that **"he thus became the ideal destroyer of his own work."** This, of course, does not prevent the bourgeois mass media from presenting him as an unrecognized prophet of "revival." At the same time, it presents him—not against his will—as some kind of spokesman for all those who were, for well-known reasons, expelled from the CPCZ or struck off its register, but many of whom actively devote their strength to the development of socialist society.

In the Shackles of Megalomania

Even today, Dubcek has not sobered up from false intoxication and has not altered his position or views. Today he is still flattered that once more someone has shown interest in him. He has not perceived or does not want to perceive that he is again being manipulated, that the popularity given to him by the Voice of America, the BBC, Bologna University, the French news agency AFP, Vienna television, the American magazine LIFE, or illegal groups is again being used in the struggle against restructuring and democratization in our country and in attacks against socialism, just as in the crisis years.

For example, today in his interviews we read or hear that he all but became an American because, when his parents returned from the United States, his mother was pregnant, so—"in reality my life began there." During his visit to Italy, when Bologna University awarded him an honorary doctorate, he quoted Francis of Assisi, the medieval philosopher, in his speech: "God, give me enough humility to bear the things which I cannot change." And when he visited the Franciscans in Assisi, he said to the town's mayor: "The fact that I am here has fulfilled all my dreams."

In a recent interview on Voice of America, he defined J. Palach as a remarkable figure who deserves a state wreath, just like the one he sent to his funeral in January 1969. He defends the evolution and activity of KAN, K-231, and other antisocialist organizations in the first half of 1968 as well as the point of view the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium adopted during the night of 20-21 August 1968, which provoked a wave of anti-Sovietism and greatly complicated the entire situation during this period. He is demanding a re-evaluation of the crisis years and the retraction of "Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," and, in particular, he is demanding that all the exponents of the so-called revival process be rehabilitated and allowed to return to political life.

In an interview with Voice of America and with the newspaper L'UNITA, he indicates that he already understood the "monstrosity of Stalinism" in the 1930's in the USSR, and in the 1950's in the Czechoslovak Republic. In spite of this, after returning from his studies in Moscow in the 1950's and 1960's, he worked without inhibition in high-ranking party functions and implemented the policy which today he criticizes so passionately. We rightly put the question: How was it in reality? Was A. Dubcek a hypocrite then—thinking one thing and doing something else—or is he lying today? For example, O. Sik frankly professes—to justify his previous dogmatism and rapport with A. Novotny—that after the 20th CPSU Congress he was not able to speak the truth and, as a leading functionary, concealed his views. Did Dubcek act in the same way?

About himself, he says that he has remained a communist, demanding his political rehabilitation, while—throughout the whole period from the April meeting in 1969, when he was recalled from his function—he has been supporting those groups and individuals who are trying to subvert the socialist system. When the "Charter" evolved in 1977, in an oral message, as the

Austrian newspaper ARBEITER ZIETUNG reported on its front page, he "completely identified with its contents" and since then has more than once expressed support for its members and its activities.

What then does the "activation" of A. Dubcek pursue? His statements as a man who in the crisis years was "right in the middle of it"—nota bene, moreover, in a senior function—are meant to give a semblance of authenticity to the slanders which the bourgeois press and international reactionary forces are spreading about their course and today's restructuring. Dubcek fulfills this role willingly and well, being captive in the shackles of his megalomania. He says exactly what those who organize his present-day popularity expect of him.

Dubcek obviously still thinks that he is indelibly written into the history books of our country as an enlightened reformer of socialism who was wrongfully expelled from the party. He expects that the time will come when this "wrong" will be righted. However, it is possible to falsely interpret history but not to change it. His era in history will remain chronicled as a warning of where the policy of a man who denounces Marxist-Leninist maxims, who casts aside socialist principles, and who betrayed the interests of the people, leads. He will forever remain simply the man who led our party and country to the brink of catastrophe.

Czech National Council Approves Alcohol Bill

LD2903043189 Prague CTK in English 1418 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 28 (CTK)—A government bill on protection against alocholism and other addictions was approved by deputies at the Czech National Council's meeting here today.

The bill respects the ban on the production, imports and the use of narcotics which fully corresponds with the present international agreements, Czech Minister of Health and Social Affairs Jaroslav Prokopec said.

As regards the struggle against alcoholism, the minister stressed that the bill does not assert prohibition principles. Its aim is to create such social relations which would limit the harmful effects of alcoholism on the health of individuals, as well as negative consequences for society, including genetic consequences. The bill contains a number of resolutions of the 1962 law.

The bill sets serious limiting measures in smoking, Jaroslav Prokope said. Tobacco addiction is often a cause of death in active age, increases sickness absences and disability, ailments of heart, vessels, as well as occurrence of cancer which results in immense losses. [Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0900 GMT on 28 March reports that the Czech National Council meeting was attended by Karel Urbanek and Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra, members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium]

Joint Austrian Hotel Venture Established

AU2403134589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Mar 89 p 1

["bb"-signed report: "Further Hotels for Prague"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)— The "Gestin" Czechoslovak-Austrian joint venture was founded in Prague on Monday [20 March]. The founding treaty was signed by representatives of the Sportturist travel agency and the Central Cooperative Bank of Vienna. The venture's main task is to build new tourist facilities, modernize and repair existing ones, operate newly built facilities, and provide various services.

The first 4star, 8-story hotel with a sports center and underground parking facilities for 100 automobiles, will be built by the "Gestin" joint venture in the center of Prague, on Vcelnici Street. Its construction will begin in November, and it will be finished in 2 years. Another—a 3-star—hotel with 600 beds, will be built by the venture in Prague by 1992. The construction of further hotels and tourist facilities in our mountain centers will follow.

The signing of the founding treaty was attended by Marie Hutterova, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic.

New Regulations for Travel to West Adopted

LD3103125889 Hamburg DPA in German 1740 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Mainz/East Berlin (DPA)—From 1 April, new and extended travel regulations to the West will come into force for GDR citizens. This was reported by Second German Television (ZDF) from East Brlin on Thursday evening.

The new regulations, which promise greater freedom of movement, are supposed to amend the November 1988 ruling, which had been criticized by the GDR public. The most important change is that private visits to aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews can now be applied for by spouses who are not blood-relatives.

Under the travel regulations of last November this is no longer possible. Many married couples are thus no longer able to travel together.

The ruling "On travel Abroad by Citizens of the GDR" was adopted on 30 November and published in GDR papers on 14 December.

According to ZDF, the new ruling allows greater flexibility in family cases. For example, travel applications in cases of births or deaths can be made up to 3 months afterwards. In cases where relatives need to be looked after, multiple-exits are possible. Citizens will also be allowed to accompany the seriously handicapped.

According to the report by ZDF's East Berlin correspondent, the GDR Government's new regulations are a response to criticism above all from the church and lawyers. Like many citizens in the GDR, they complained that the November 1988 travel regulations were more restrictive than previously.

The improvements in the travel regulations were confirmed this evening by church sources in East Berlin. The information dates from a meeting between Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe and GDR Secretary of State of Church Affairs Kurt Loeffler. The amendment was decided in mid-March. It was pointed out on the part of the state that the travel figures for GDR citizens to the Federal Republic in January and February rose slightly in comparison with the same period last year.

Church Leaders Welcome New Law

LD3103130689 Hamburg DPA in German 1105 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The new travel regulations in the GDR, which are to ease visits to relations in the West by GDR citizens, have been announced to GDR citizens shortly before coming into force. The regulations were published in the latest GDR legal gazette. They will come into force this Saturday, 1 April. With the new regulations the GDR is correcting the regulation which has only been in force since January, which was increasingly criticized and was a step backwards, according to those concerned. [passage omitted]

Church representatives in East Berlin welcomed the new regulations. Superintendent General Guenter Krusche spoke shortly before the opening of the Berlin-Brandenburg synod of an "important decision" which he welcomed. He personally took part in the talks at the State Secretariat for Church Affairs. [passage omitted]

It was stressed by the State Secretariat for Church Affairs that the political and economic conditions do not yet exist for the fulfillment of all travel requests. In the opinion of the GDR Government, the Federal Government's attitude toward citizenship and the existence of the statistics office in Salzgitter stand in the way of further improvements.

According to church circles, State Secretary Kurt Loeffler put forward the opinion that the GDR has fulfilled all the obligations arising from the CSCE Follow-up Conference in Vienna. The GDR is "among the most tolerant and free countries" in the world, Loeffler was quoted as saying. Thus, in January and February 1989 there were about 31,000 more journeys than in the previous comparable months.

Travel Regulations Decree

LD3103141889 Hamburg DPA in German 1241 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The new travel regulations which go into effect on Saturday amend the decree "On Journeys Abroad by GDR Citizens" of 30 November, which has been in effect since 1 January 1989. Paragraph seven of this decree regulates visits to relatives.

From the GDR LEGAL GAZETTE, Berlin, 28 March 1989:
"(1) Rules for implementing the decree on journeys abroad by GDR citizens, 14 March 1989.

On the basis of the decree of 30 November 1988 on journeys abroad by GDR citizens (LEGAL GAZETTE 1, No 25, p 271) the following is laid down: In addition to Paragraph seven, subsections (1) and (2) of the decree:

Paragraph one (1) Applications for private journeys on the occasion of births may also be made if the journey is to take place 1 month before the estimated date of the birth or up to 3 months after the birth.

Paragraph one (2) Applications for private journeys in cases of death may also be made if the journey takes place within 3 months after the death.

Paragraph two Applications for private journeys in cases of need for care may be made for multiple journeys in each case.

Paragraph three Applications for private journeys in cases of life-threatening illnesses and deaths of GDR citizens during their stay abroad may be made by the spouse and other persons named in paragraph seven of the decree.

Paragraph four Applications for private journeys by aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews may also be made for journeys to the relatives' spouses if there are reasons for the journey in accordance with Paragraph seven (2). This is accordingly valid for the spouse of the person entitled to apply for journeys to the latter's relatives.

Paragraph five Applications for private journeys may be made by citizens who are to accompany a disabled person on a private journey, in as far as they need to be accompanied.

Paragraph six Applications for private journeys may be made by citizens married to foreigners for journeys to the latter's native country without giving specific reasons.

Final regulation Paragraph seven This regulation on implementation goes into effect on 1 April 1989. Berlin, 14 March 1989 Dickel, Interior Minister and head of the German People's Police"

Krenz Receives U.S. Congressional Delegation

LD3003193289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1226 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There are no acceptable alternatives to political dialogue and disarmament for the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. This was stated today in Berlin by Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, during talks with a U.S. Congressional delegation. Egon Krenz stresses that on the basis of this principle, the GDR is doing everything in its power to remove nuclear weapons and to drastically reduce the conventional military potential. It is contributing to the consolidation of international stability through active political exchange of views and varied bilateral cooperation with a whole range of countries.

Egon Krenz conveyed greetings from GDR state leader Erich Honecker to the delegation, which is led by Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House of Representatives Finance Committee. In his telegram of congratulations to George Bush on his election as President of the United States, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council had expressed the GDR's readiness to further develop mutually advantageous relations.

In this connection, Egon Krenz acknowledged the U.S. representatives' visit as a continuation of long-existing contacts between the GDR and representatives of the U.S. Congress.

The U.S. delegation, Egon Krenz stressed, is a guest in a country whose rhythm of life is determined by the diligence of its citizens, by social security for all, and by the population's democratic participation.

The implementation of human rights in their entirety is synonymous with GDR policy. The GDR has fulfilled all three baskets of the Helsinki Final Act. This also includes economic relations, which, as stated in the document, could not be restricted by any limitations. Impediments of any kind should be reduced and gradually removed.

The representatives of the U.S. House presented the Congress's attitude to topical questions of world political development. They stated that dialogue and realism are basic principles of U.S. foreign policy, supported by Congress. They also expressed the view that the U.S. Congress attaches the greatest importance to the question of human rights in international relations. Reciprocal visits even by parliamentary delegations promote mutual understanding. The leader of the U.S. delegation emphasized that trade relations are an important factor in the development of cooperation between the countries.

In the course of the discussion, which took place in a businesslike atmosphere, the guests asked questions about GDR's domestic and foreign policy. They welcomed the change for the better in international relations. This could have a positive influence on the cultivation and development of bilateral relations. In this connection, the participants of the meeting discussed the further shaping of the political dialogue and the relations between the GDR and the United States and advocated their development.

The U.S. delegation, which was received in the GDR State Council seat of office, consists of the following members of the House of Representatives: George Miller; William R. Archer, Jr; Fortney H. Stark, Jr; Ronnie G. Flippo; Norman Sisisky; Martin R. Russo; Guy A. Vander Jagt; and Richard T. Shulze.

Fischer Meets With Group

LD3003194889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR's Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today in Berlin pointed out the GDR's efforts to make irreversible the change manifesting itself in international relations, in spite of all the continuing complications. Much remains to be done on this, he said during a meeting with a delegation from the U.S. House of Representatives, led by Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the Finance Committee.

Therefore, the GDR actively supports taking further steps to continue the hopeful start to disarmament brought about by the INF agreement without delay. No type of weapon should be left out, no necessary checks dispensed with, there should be no letup in efforts for

tangible disarmament. Oskar Fischer strongly pointed out that disarmament should not be compensated for by fresh arming and "modernization" in other areas, and thus be negated.

The GDR's contribution to calm and stability on the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact consists of it acting determinedly in the spirit of the commitment to do everything so that never again will war but only peace emanate from German soil. This is of topical significance in view of the upcoming 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II. In this spirit, the GDR has developed its own initiatives on setting up nuclear and chemical weapon free zones as well as a zone of confidence and security in Central Europe. It has decided to reduce its forces by 10,000 men and its defense budget by 10 percent by the end of 1990.

Dan Rostenkowski and other members of the U.S. delegation expressed the opinion that everything has to be done to maintain peace in the world. Further significant steps on disarmament are necessary for this. Just as important are all efforts in the area of trade, culture, and cooperation in the area of tourism and other areas, as well as on environmental protection, as these contributed to reducing prejudice and distrust and bringing people closer.

Oskar Fischer and Dan Rostenkowski spoke in favor of making better use of the existing possibilities for the mutually advantageous extension of bilateral relations. In this it remains an unshakable basis for cooperation that each side respect the other the way it is. The U.S. Congressional delegation earlier met Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR'S Council of State.

Honecker Greets PCI's Occhetto on Reelection

AU2803155189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Mar 89 p 1

[Message from the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the PCI: "Congratulations for Achille Occhetto on His Reelection"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Achille Occhetto:

On your reelection as general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], I convey most cordial congratulations to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] as well as on my own behalf.

We wish you personally and the Italian Communists much success in implementing the resolutions of the 18th PCI Congress.

With communist greetings,
SED Central Committee
E. Honecker,
general secretary

Honecker Congratulates Natta on Election

AU2803155289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Mar 89 p 1

[Message from the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Alessandro Natta, chairman of the PCI Central Committee: "Congratulations for Alessandro Natta on His Election"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Alessandro Natta:

On your election as chairman of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], I convey most cordial congratulations to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

I wish you much success, good health, and creative vigor for your responsible activity.

With communist greetings,
SED Central Committee
E. Honecker,
general secretary

Honecker Condolences for PDRY Victims

AU3003143989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In connection with the natural catastrophe in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY], Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, assured 'Ali Salim al-Bayd, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party, and Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, chairman of the PDRY Supreme People's Council Presidium, of his solidarity and sympathy.

Torrential rains have have so far claimed at least 16 lives in the PDRY. The floods have left 50,000 people homeless.

Honecker Greets Mali People's Democratic Union

AU3003140189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent a greetings telegram to Army General Moussa Traore, general secretary of the Mali People's Democratic Union [UDPM], on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the UDPM. In the message, cordial greetings and congratulations are conveyed to all UDPM members on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its Central Committee. The UDPM's commitment to peace, international security, and equal cooperation between the states, and the commitment of its members to social progress in the interest of the Malian people meets with the GDR's sympathy and appreciation.

Norwegian Parliamentarians Visit People's Chamber
AU3103150589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [29 March] a delegation of the Committee for Foreign and Constitutional Affairs of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Norway, headed by Committee Chairman Kare Willoch (Conservative Party), was received by Gerald Goetting, deputy president of the People's Chamber, for a talk in the house of the GDR's supreme people's representative body.

During the open-minded exchange of views, which paid tribute to parliamentary contacts as an important contribution to a political dialogue aimed at understanding and trust, Gerald Goetting briefed the Norwegian parliamentarians on the varied peace initiatives of the GDR, including its unilateral disarmament initiatives, the regional proposals aimed at disarmament and confidence-building and further confidence- and security-building measures. The GDR is acting in line with its historical responsibility and its humanist assignment to do everything so that war will never again emanate from German soil but only peace, Goetting said. [passage omitted]

As a result of their exchange of views, the interlocutors expressed the conviction that the visit and the talks of the Norwegian delegation in the GDR will have a beneficial effect on the deepening of the dialogue despite differing views concerning some specific issues.

In the morning, the Norwegian parliamentarians met with members of the People's Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee. Gerhard Lindner, first deputy chairman of the People's Chamber committee, and Kare Willoch expressed the joint efforts of the parliaments of the GDR and Norway to promote a policy of dialogue that is aimed at peace, disarmament, detente, and cooperation. They welcomed the conclusion of the INF Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States as a first important step on the path toward disarmament, which has to be followed consistently. [passage omitted]

The talks were attended by Erik Christian Selmer, ambassador of the Kingdom of Norway to the GDR.

NATO Accused of Using 'Horse Trader's Trick'
AU3003140489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Mar 89 p 2

["He." commentary: "NATO's Horse Trader Trick"]

[Text] The first round of talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe has been concluded in Vienna. Negotiations will be continued on 5 May. Both sides spoke of a basically good start. However, differences have emerged between the constructive position of the Warsaw Pact states and that of NATO, whose strategy is aimed at unilateral advantages.

One must admit that those who tried to slow down or even block the process in Vienna were very active. The NATO commander in chief in Europe, U.S. General Galvin, presented his antiquated scenario in a newspaper article: The "threat from the East" continues to exist; for this reason, NATO must stick to the principle of "deterrence", in which connection the "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons is also necessary.

Defense Minister Scholz stressed the same aspect when addressing the participants in the Easter marches as it were, as well as the 90 percent of FRG citizens who are in favor of modernizing policies and against modernizing missiles: "Security policy," which is equivalent to a renewed arms buildup, is certainly not popular, he pointed out. "However, popularity and populism are the last criteria for a responsible security policy."

In order to prevent the whole idiotic arms race from becoming even more unpopular, NATO, the FRG Government, and the Defense Ministry have resorted to a device that can only be described as a clumsy horse trader's trick. NATO has long reached agreement on the "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons, officials point out. New land-based missiles are being modified to cover a range of 500 km, and nuclear stand-off weapons are being developed for attack air forces—"without calling for their deployment for the time being." This is really the limit! FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU explained the underlying reasons: The whole thing has been organized "with the climate of disarmament talks between Warsaw Pact and NATO, but also with national elections scheduled for December 1990 in mind."

In addition to that, U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney ordered a "Delta Star" satellite, an SDI element, to be launched into space on Good Friday [24 March]. Prior to that, however, he urged the European NATO allies to make increased efforts in the conventional sphere. He stated that one should not delude oneself as to think that "the world has suddenly become more peaceful and secure."

He is certainly right. Considering everything that is happening in the sphere of NATO, one can not delude oneself into assuming such a thing. The consequence is: Disarmament is more important now than ever before! It is imperative for us to continue to be ready to protect socialism and peace....

W. Berlin Youth To Attend Pyongyang Festival
AU3003140089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Mar 89 p 5

[Text] Berlin (West)—Representatives of various Berlin (West) organizations will participate in the 13th World Festival of Young People and Students in Pyongyang

this July. This was reported in a press statement by the city's festival movement. During the international dialogue at the festival, the young people want to contribute their experiences, among other things, in the struggle against neonazism, the document says. A representative of the city's festival movement will also be sent to the conference of the International Preparatory Committee, which approximately 90 national committees have joined so far.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 16-22 Mar

AU2403190189

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 17 to 23 March reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received outgoing Turkish Ambassador Hekmet Ozkan in Berlin on 16 March. (17 March, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Fassika Sidelil, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, in Berlin on 17 March. (18-19 March, p 2) (filed as AU2003152289) Dohlus attended a luncheon for an Ethiopian parliamentary delegation in Berlin on 20 March. (21 March, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, visited the Power Plant Construction state enterprise in Magdeburg on 20 March. (21 March, p 2)

Werner Eberlein met with Magdeburg trade unionists in Magdeburg on 22 March. (23 March, p 2)

Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received TANJUG Director General Mihailo Saranovic in Berlin on 20 March. (21 March, p 2) (filed as AU2203124089)

Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received CSSR Agriculture Minister Jaromir Algayer in Berlin on 21 March (22 March, p 2) (filed as AU2303110189)

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received outgoing Netherlands Ambassador Carel Johannes Schneider and outgoing Turkish Ambassador Hekmet Ozkan in Berlin on 17 March. (18-19 March, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception hosted by Greek Ambassador Adonios Koundakis in Berlin on 20 March. (21 March, p 2)

Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a dinner hosted by Ethiopian Ambassador Lemma Gutema on 22 March. (23 March, p 2)

Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, attended a meeting of Berlin trade unionists in Berlin on 16 March. (17 March, p 1)

Harry Tisch met the chairmen of teachers' trade unions of socialist countries in Berlin on 16 March. (17 March, p 2) (filed as AU2003115189)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, attended a dinner for Uruguayan Foreign Minister Luis Barrios Tassano on 20 March. (21 March, p 2)

Appearances for 23-29 March

AU3103151989

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 25 to 30 March reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

The following members of the Central Committee Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) attended youth intiation ceremonies in Berlin from 25-26 March: Werner Eberlein and Siegfried Lorenz. (27 March, p 1)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by Pakistani Ambassador Izharul Anwar Chaudhry in Berlin on 23 March. (25-26 March, p 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a conference of leading GDR sports functionaries in Berlin on 27 March. (28 March, p 2)

Egon Krenz received outgoing Ecuadoran Ambassador Alfonso Barrera Valverde in Berlin on 28 March. (29 March, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, visited the "Edwin Hoernle" agricultural producer cooperative in Berlin on 27 March. (28 March, p 1)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, attended an environmental conference in Cottbus on 29 March. (30 March, p 2)

MSZMP Central Committee Session Continues

Grosz Notes Gorbachev, 'Arafat Talks

LD2903151189 Budapest MTI in English
1403 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—As reported, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee started its session on Wednesday [29 March], with General Secretary Karoly Grosz in the chair.

Mr Grosz greeted the members of the Central Committee on behalf of the Political Committee, and anounced that HSWP President Janos Kadar, would not be attending the discussions on account of his poor health.

Before proceeding to the items on the agenda, Mr Grosz briefed the Central Committee on his two recent rounds of talks.

The general secretary visited the Soviet Union between 23 and 24 March. He considers the cordial, open and friendly meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev useful and successful, one to further the confidence and understanding between the two parties. The talks also indicate that the Soviet Union would welcome Hungary's tackling its problems through better utilizing the possibilities of socialism, the preservation of stability and dynamic progress with reforms, as well as finding solutions through political means.

The Soviet leadership also accepted Hungary's domestic political ideas, including the establishment of a multi-party system. However, Mikhail Gorbachev feels no general or final judgement is possible on the question of a single or a multi-party system. The ways and means should be chosen by the individual peoples and parties.

The meeting showed agreement on the major questions of international life, as well as the need for the modernization of the Warsaw Treaty and the reinforcement of internal democracy. The sides hold similar views on the question of neutrality, which they consider out of place under current conditions, yet both countries support the simultaneous elimination of the two military blocs.

Surveying the experiences of 1956 and 1968, Mr Gorbachev said that all possible safeguards should be provided so that no external force can interfere in the domestic issues of socialist countries. He stressed the Soviet Union would support all Hungarian proposals to reform the CMEA. He also thinks the modernization of the community should be carried out via the reform of the national economies. Mr Grosz said Hungarian specialists were promised access to documents on the 1956 events kept in the Soviet Union.

On his talks with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, March 16-17, Karoly Grosz said: The invitation serves to demonstrate our solidarity with the Palestinian people's fight to the domestic and international public. The general secretary informed the PLO chairman on Hungary's imminent negotiations with Israel on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations. Mr 'Arafat said the decision of the Hungarian Government was an internal affair, but added that the step would arouse adverse feelings in certain Arab states.

Matyas Szuros noted with regret that the Hungarian-Soviet talks had not dealt with the Hungarian-Romanian relations, with regard to the attitude of the Romanian Government. In his reply, Mr Grosz said his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev had unofficially touched on the Romanian situation.

The briefing was accepted by the body, and they proceeded on to the first item on the agenda introduced with a keynote address by Janos Berecz.

Lukacs Speaks on Reforms

LD2903184289 Budapest MTI in English
1623 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party ended discussion of the first point on the agenda. Mr Berecz's report was followed by ten contributions and six comments submitted in writing.

The next point on the agenda was a report by Janos Lukacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, on the in-party debates concerning political reforms. Mr Lukacs stated that, judging by the debate, the decisive majority of party members have realized and accepted that Hungarian society is proceeding towards the multi-party system and the HSWP has to find the ways and means of putting into practice a socialist-minded policy under such conditions.

Body Adopts Report on Reforms

LD2903202989 Budapest MTI in English
1625 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—In the afternoon the HSWP Central Committee completed the discussion of the second point on the agenda by adopting the report on the in-party debate over political reforms and the reply given to the contributions.

Commenting on Mr Lukacs's report, nine people expressed agreement with the main statements of the document, first of all that the HSWP should go ahead with its self-initiated reforms and extend them to other fields of social life. Contributors included General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

*Officials Discuss Foreign Policy Reorientation

25000153 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Mar 89 pp 4-5

[Article by Imre Szokai and Csaba Tabajdi, deputy directors of the Central Committee's Department of International Relations: "The Changing Hungarian Social Model: A Change in the Orientation of Hungarian Foreign Policy?"]

[Text] The democratic evolutionary process has accelerated in Hungary. The fact that after somewhat lengthy consideration we find that the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]—the party that for decades did not share in the exercise of power—is now spearheading the change, an unprecedented phenomenon. We should not hesitate bravely to call this a turnaround of historic significance. At present, the most important tasks are to define the transitional character and to begin a social dialogue concerning future tasks. Also, the MSZMP must make clear to itself what position it takes concerning each and every issue affecting the future of the country. It must do so realistically, in a justifiable manner, and so that its positions are acceptable to society. The intellectual environment has significantly changed since the national party conference. In this changed environment it has become possible and important that the MSZMP publicize not only its final, official views so to speak, but also that its members and representatives present their thoughts to public opinion already in the period when ideas are "maturing."

The Constrained Path of Trianon

One should mention by all means that the level of our foreign policy culture is remarkably low, even in comparison to the relatively undeveloped state of the political culture in general in Hungary. Ever since Mohacs [the 1526 defeat by the Turks], one of the characteristic and peculiar features of our history has been that there have been few periods in which the Hungarian state, the Hungarian people could determine the evolution of their fate independently, without the influence of outside forces.

Our sovereignty developed in a peculiar way also in the aftermath of World War I. Trianon channeled our country onto a path of constraint, but our chances were really made worse through the policies pursued by the Hungarian leadership between the two world wars. These policies were not responsive to geostrategic and international political requirements. True, the leadership did not have much of a choice other than to orient itself toward Germany and Italy, but its blind anti-Soviet and anticommunist attitude, and a resultant overly ideological approach, prevented the establishment of relations with Soviet Russia, one of the key powers in the region. This was so, even though as early as 1923, Gyula Szekfu called attention to mutual interests: After all, the Soviet Union too suffered substantial losses as a result of the territorial rearrangement after World War I. Having learned nothing from historical experience, the Hungarian leadership between the two world wars followed the same grievance policies toward its next door neighbors as they did prior to 1920.

Accordingly, between the two world wars, Hungary sought refuge under the "arm pit" of one of the great powers within its close surroundings, but it did so with reverse values, playing the role of a ferry boat, and this also characterized the subsequent period. The rigid confrontation of the cold war, our excessive integration into the Soviet Union's sphere of security interests, and the consequences of the evolution of a peculiar "cordon sanitaire" further narrowed Hungary's foreign policy activities.

As in any other country, one of the basic conditions of Hungarian foreign policy, and of the development of a foreign policy culture, should have been the country's sovereign sphere of movement, so that the country's fate can be determined by the people. The existence of sovereignty, the opportunity to choose an independent path permits a nation to formulate a domestic and foreign policy culture. This is a necessary, though not a sufficient condition for a consensus between the various parties and political forces in the multiparty system to be established.

Other factors which hinder us in candidly facing our foreign policy activities have some timely correlations with domestic politics. In these days one observes escalating emotions in Hungary: Domestic political competition is developing and the bidding has begun. On the one side we still find significant forces which hinder efforts to reveal the past in a critical and self-critical manner, and to conduct an unbiased analysis. This is so, even though the MSZMP is in great need of such revelations and analyses. The historical subcommittee's study is an attempt to satisfy this need. On the other hand, the situation also requires objective conduct on part of the alternative forces, so that the recalling of the past does not become merely a shortsighted means by which the MSZMP is rendered impossible.

As a result of the bidding it has become increasingly difficult to conduct realpolitik in Hungary. In foreign policy, too, with increasing frequency there have emerged conceptions and views not derived from the sober analysis of facts, and which do not start out from balancing the advantages and disadvantages of our foreign relations system. For this reason, these conceptions and views cannot be in our national interest, and cannot be responsive to European realities and the international balance of power. This attitude can only produce rampant passion, "instinctive politics," and an emotionally charged, mutually inciting, recalcitrant conduct. Stopping this self-generating process is our number one national interest, and it must be stopped now, before it is too late.

The third internal barrier is formed by the secrecy surrounding foreign policy, the ever more anachronistic fear of breaking taboos, and the persistent survival of outmoded dogmas. In order to permit a balanced evolution of our external system of relationships it has become indispensable by now that the balancing of possible economic cooperation, and the choice of external economic orientation be cleansed from all fossilized ideological constraint. We need much greater openness in order for us to present arguments to our nation supportive of our foreign policy.

Geostrategic Considerations

Considering the three factors that serve as chief obstacles—the existing level of foreign policy culture, the narrowing of possibilities to conduct Realpolitik, and the still existing dogmas—three fundamental tasks are to be performed today. There is a need for a candid, objective analysis of Hungary's foreign policy and international endeavors, on the one hand. On the other hand—and this is closely related to the first task—there is a need for a factual weighing of our geostrategic situation, of our given conditions. These two tasks are followed by perhaps the most difficult third task: the formulation of a domestic political consensus which includes foreign policy orientation, and the determination of those fundamental interests of the nation and of the country which must not be exposed to party conflicts, which cannot be overcome by the particular viewpoints presented in the course of political struggles. As of today one cannot really envision how such a consensus could be reached with the various parties and alternative social forces. The development of foreign relations serves as an internal sanctioning factor for all forces. And this of course, is not a uniquely Hungarian phenomenon, it happens this way throughout the world. On the other hand, we should by all means avoid preventing the enforcement of national interests by partial interests represented by various political forces and parties, and permit—in the course of the accelerating domestic political race—everyone to taking a piece of sovereignty and to sacrifice that sovereignty in the interest of strengthening its own internal position.

The danger of this happening these days is particularly threatening. Relative to this matter the fundamental issue is the extent to which we can make independent decisions concerning our internal affairs and to making choices regarding our foreign policy orientation. The right and the possibility to independently determine such ways in and of itself represents something of worth to all kinds of politics, but today there is not a single country in the world which is fully sovereign. Rather, the real issue presents itself in the degree of dependence, the question of whether there is any free sphere of action for politics and independent decision making along with the predetermined conditions. At present one of the greatest contradictions of the Hungarian international relations system is that while Hungary never had as much room for foreign policy as it has had in the past few years, we are struggling with a peculiar lack of sovereignty virtually everywhere and in several directions. The main reason for the increased room is that from the standpoint of the Soviet Union, the sole, truly essential criterion is the stability of Hungarian social development and the preservation of the status quo. Whether individual socialist countries build socialism consistent with the professed faith is no longer the subject of ideological measurement games which convey a lack of confidence. At the same time, the concept of dependence applies to our relations with the Soviet Union, the rest of the socialist countries as well as to the West. In addition to some very serious energy and industrial ties, and given military policy conditions which represent barriers here, the possibility of making sovereign political decisions is hindered at least as much by the fact that we have been squeezed into the shackles of borrowed capital. While our socialist partners in cooperation hardly possess resources to serve our development, and patterns which we could utilize in the process of our renewal, in our present situation we can be only "quasi colonies", the periphery of the West at best. For this reason, our sovereignty, also in comparison to the sovereignty of other countries, is rather limited.

The organic development of the Hungarian path can emerge only from the mixture of autonomous laws, and the ability to adapt to external effects. At the same time, however, self-determination, and the concern for, and representation of the national interest cannot be regarded as identical to nationalism and isolationism. Certain forces are inclined to stigmatize the consistent enforcement of sovereignty as nationalism. This is how they try to veil their own efforts to accomplish foreign penetration. Dual dependence however, remains a fact, which will determine the fundamental direction of Hungary's activities for a long time to come.

Why do we have to even ponder the international sphere of action at a time when we are experiencing another such constraint, an internal crisis? It is precisely because of these limitations that we have to ponder such matters, and we must do so in the name of, and in the interest of the sobriety of realpolitik.

Is There a Hungarian Path?

One of the basic problems of today's Hungarian foreign policy may be defined as follows: whether the changing of models simultaneously gives rise to the need for a change in orientation. In different terms, the question may be posed this way: Does the rejection of the Stalinist model of socialism also mean that at the same time we are turning away from the Soviet Union and from the rest of the socialist countries? Does it also mean some kind of change in foreign policy orientation? What foreign policy orientation is appropriate to the new socialist model which is based on a mixed economy and on a multiparty system—the new socialist model which was affirmed by the MSZMP Central Committee session of 10-11 February 1989? Will there not be too great a

deviation and breach between the unchanged continuation of the foreign policy orientation pursued thus far on the one hand, and a socialist-social democratic type model on the other?

In order to respond to these questions, we first of all must openly face the long-debated issue of whether there exists, whether there can exist a Hungarian model, a "Hungarian path" at all.

It was the Stalinist "model" which demonstrated in the most dramatic way the dead-end street of the building of society guided by and in the shackles of dogmas. For quite some time now, much more has been going on in Hungary than de-Stalinization which is long overdue everywhere and more than mere pathfinding. Hungary has reached the limits of matters in which the Stalinist system may be reformed, and present changes are challenging the pillars of the system: monolithic property and power conditions. All this is taking place in a crisis situation, but thus far under orderly conditions. Even if delayed, the party is beginning to lead this process, and it does so following a decade of crisis and pushed into the corner.

Let us openly state that a consolidated transition from monolithic conditions to pluralism in the absence of severe social shocks is without precedent, and constitutes an experiment of historic significance. This is the ground from which the Hungarian path may evolve. Its success would not only mean the uplifting of the Hungarian nation, it could also serve as a lesson for other countries. The designation and acceptance of the Hungarian path could represent a mobilizing and cohesive force for our nation which has lost self-confidence, self-respect, faith and self-confidence. Quite naturally, just as at the beginning of every epochal undertaking, we must also take into consideration the fact that there are risks.

Neither Vienna, Nor Stockholm, Nor Helsinki

Where we can turn for useful outside patterns and experience in the course of our pathfinding is a fundamentally important question. While it is obvious that by now the Stalinist model has no elements which may be transferred or applied, we still cannot equate Stalinism and the models of Soviet socialism. Thus for example, pluralism prevailed within the Bolshevik Party during the entire Lenin era—i.e. not only during the so-called NEP [New Economic Plan] era. Moreover, it is also a historical fact that with the help of the SR [prerevolutionary Social Revolutionaries], the Mensheviks, and others, Lenin wanted to sustain an actual multiparty system. Accordingly, the history of Soviet-Russia has a period—however brief—which may provide useful experience. Similarly, the historic past of the workers movements in Central European countries, and primarily in Hungary, and particularly social democracy may serve as examples. This holds true even if the workers movement, the social democracy of Western Europe and of the world traveled a very long path since 1948.

In searching for examples which may be adopted, or experiences which may be transferred—irrespective of whether we find these in the past or in the present—one should exercise a high degree of circumspection. The possibility of transferring an entire "model" is most definitely denied by historical experience and by the comprehensive crisis of existing socialism. The most eloquent example within this is the uselessness of the Stalinist model itself. In regard to partial solutions abroad: these too can be adopted and utilized only in a limited fashion. Whenever some people talk about the adoption of the Swedish, the Austrian or the Finnish "model," they certainly do not omit the rather diverse specific circumstances, starting points and cultural levels, beyond the general historical lessons. We cannot disregard in particular the tradition of "democratic reflex" which develops in people—the culture of "reflexive" democratic social contact. Hungary never was, and never will be either Austria, or Sweden or Finland.

From among the political forces of our age, which one is based on conceptions which proved themselves in practice—conceptions which can be used also in Hungary? The endeavors, solutions, and intellectual achievements of the Italian Communist Party provide us important and useful experiences. The social democratic model of democracy could be of real significance to us. However, we must make reference to the limitations of possible transfer. Many espouse the idea that the MSZMP should move in the direction of the Bad Godesberg program of the FRG Social Democratic Party. This suggests a delayed phase in history. By now, the FRG Social Democrats want to transcend that program. Not even the economic policies of the Social Democrats were able to provide a successful response to challenges presented by the global economy during the past decade and a half. Their social welfare achievements, which deserve attention and respect, were accomplished in the midst of an economic boom and prosperity which increased at a rapid pace. There also, of course, exist opposite examples: While observing the peculiar values of the Social Democrats, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party was prepared and appeared to be able to adopt stringent but effective economic policies which would have provided for catching up and for an uplift. With special consideration given to our tasks in the field of modernization, the stringency of structural change processes of some neoconservative bourgeois parties may prove to be more effective in our economy. But in the midst of the present social tensions we must pay distinguished attention to social democratic achievements such as welfare, and the social welfare safety net of the caring state.

According to international experience (South Korea, Taiwan, Chile) it is possible to develop and to operate for a while an efficient economy under dictatorial circumstances. After a certain point, however, the absence of democracy acts as an economic brake even in these countries. Development in Spain is an example which shows that economic growth acts to break up authoritarian systems.

These examples demonstrate that we cannot restrict ourselves to the study of a single country or a single political force insofar as patterns whose adoption is limited from the outset are concerned. We must acquire diverse information, which at the same time does not act to destroy itself. From a foreign policy standpoint all this underscores even more heavily the fact that we must take into consideration the features and the realistic needs of our country, the importance of appropriate proportions between national and international events, and the significance of a continuous search for "optimum openness." This, however, does not constitute a change in orientation. Instead it represents a fundamentally East and West European endeavor toward dual orientation.

Constrained Trap Situation

A change in orientation also has its internal and external limits. Its internal obstacle is not so much the issue of whether Hungary needs West Europe, but instead whether West Europe needs Hungary. In other words, the question not only pertains to the direction in which we should orient ourselves, but also whether "receptiveness" is manifested by the partners. Namely, our opportunities are limited by their readiness to cooperate. This, on the other hand, is a direct function of whether we can become true partners, whether we have the ability and readiness to cooperate and to integrate. All this suggests that we must establish internal conditions in Hungary—and such conditions mean not only stability, but also an ability to develop, renew and establish linkages—and make Hungary an attractive partner.

The issue of changing orientation must be dealt with primarily from the viewpoint of economic realities, and within that, from the standpoint of finding alternate [piackivaltas] markets. This issue once again reaches one of the taboos: We must weigh the various main relationships we have with CEMA, the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union, our links to Western Europe, China, Japan and the North American region, as well as to the developing countries. We must examine to what extent the above mentioned countries, groups of countries and regions can replace each other, what kind of tradeoff China provides for the CEMA market, and to what extent cooperation with Western Europe is offset by cooperation in the Pacific and North American regions, and so on. Without performing a detailed analysis one can state that the CEMA market can be hardly replaced by the Chinese market, and that Western Europe can be hadly replaced by relations with other developed capitalist economic centers. In this relation, however, the most important thing to do is to optimize cooperation with the various groups of countries.

We must soberly weigh whether Hungary should leave CEMA at all. It has become apparent to economists as well as to the larger public that CEMA has not only lost its dynamic, stabilizing, and protective role which it held in the sixties and during part of the seventies, but it now also is no longer capable of protecting against unfavorable global economic effects. Moreover, CEMA has become a retarding factor. Despite these facts, any demand to leave CEMA is highly debatable. Why? It does not function, after all. The advantage of a possible Hungarian withdrawal would be symbolic only, yet the resultant damage would be great. Indeed, CEMA does not function as a multifaceted organization, and integration is out of question. In contrast, however, CEMA does "function" as an organizational umbrella and framework for bilateral systems of relationship. Consequently, what should be considered is not the choice of whether one should leave the organization. Instead, the choice to be pondered is what products should be exported, and what products should be imported in their stead under bilateral relations with individual countries within the organization, trade which is advantageous to Hungary from an economic standpoint.

We must also recognize the fact that within 5-10 years it would be economically inconceivable to acquire or to reroute our energy and raw material imports which presently come from the Soviet Union to convertible currency markets. This is particularly true at a time when we must reduce a convertible currency indebtedness of the magnitude we are struggling with today. The other factor we cannot disregard is this: Trade with individual CEMA countries today produces jobs for approximately 1 million Hungarian citizens. In the midst of today's social tensions, when unemployment hangs over our heads like Damocles' sword, this factor becomes extremely important. It must be taken into consideration even if a majority of the goods we sell to CEMA member countries are products which we could not sell on convertible currency markets, and even if this has a certain unquestinable preservative effect upon the industrial structure. This also represents a trap situation with which we are forced to coexist. One should also ponder the paradox which manifests itself in the fact that some consider the need to leave CEMA at a time when the Western partners want to conquer this market. The conclusion seems apparent: Also in this regard we should not sacrifice short range, perceived economic advantages for long term opportunities which appear to be real.

All this leads us to conclude that we must build stronger relations with Western countries; at the same time, however, we should not attach unfounded expectations to these relations. Hungary's joining the EC cannot be regarded as realistic for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the EC is reluctant to further expand the organization at least until 1992, because such expansion always retarded the process of integration. Beyond social, political and economic considerations, our approach would be limited also by the fact that in applying Section 228 of the Treaty of Rome, the Common Market has thus far been willing to enter into partnership agreements only with capitalist countries with developed market economies. Our present economic accomplishments, our belonging to a system of alliances, and our bilateral agreement reached with the EC clearly establishes our

place in the Community's system of relationships until 1995. Even an accelerated implementation of the agreement could be viewed as a great accomplishment. And even this would mean only the achievement of the most favored nation status which is generally applied in international relations.

A Friend Understands and Supports

Our geostrategic-military policy situation presents tougher limitations to the changing of our orientation than do economic limitations. Hungary is a member of the political and military organization of the Warsaw Pact. Dissolution of the Pact is not a realistic short term goal. It can be achieved only as a result of changes in the international, the European power structure. On the other hand, we must make it our goal that, from a military point of view, the organization serve only defensive intentions, and that its capabilities be restricted to such purposes. Strengthening the political character of the Warsaw Pact is in our national interest. In this framework we must also reexamine our earlier classifications. Belonging to the same military alliance does not mean a friendly relationship by all means, but it can blunt certain conflicts. The relationship between Greece and Turkey for instance, cannot be termed as friendly. Let us put it in clear terms, at last: The adjectives "friendly" and "brotherly" primarily have a meaning in human relations or in the characterization of relations among relatives, and have a lesser meaning in the determination of orientation in relationships between states! Ideological considerations cannot serve as a future basis for "friendly relations" from the standpoint of Hungarian foreign policy. We consider as our friends those who manifest an understanding toward our national goals, and support us through their actions.

In weighing this dual dependence and linkage we must also recognize the fact that along with political sympathy, it is in the interest of significant forces to see Hungary relapse into anarchy. This holds true with respect to some "Eastern orthodox" leadership groups, but it also hold true in regard to certain Western countries. In a peculiar way, although with positive as well as negative values, the "fundamentalists" on both sides are interested to see proof that the Hungarian reform process end in a dead-end street at last. From the standpoint of the Eastern fundamentalists Hungary's crisis would prove the bankruptcy of the idea of deviating from the Stalinist model. On the other hand, the idea that socialism cannot be reformed at all would make Western fundamentalists rejoice.

The relationship between capitalist countries—and within that Western Europe—and Hungary may be characterized today by a certain perplexity. Not only are we perplexed relative to the Western half of the continent, Western Europe's conduct is also rather contradictory. Western Europe would like to see the social development of Hungary and of other socialist countries to increasingly move in the direction of a bourgeois democracy, on the one hand. For this reason increasingly close relationships with various parties and alternative organizations, such as the link between the international social democratic movement and Hungarian Social Democrats, are being developed. This kind of endeavor is natural: The more someone looks like me, the more likely it is that I will accept him as my partner. The MSZMP also has developed relationships with most diverse political forces, and thus, in the spirit of mutuality, we must accept similar endeavors as natural. In the coming years, however, in one or another shifting of gears, this developing of Western ties in a sharpening domestic political contest may also play a domestic role of political destabilization. At the same time, one is discovering on the part of Westerners an increasing anxiety to discover political stability. An acute Hungarian crisis—mainly through its negative effects on the perestroyka of the Soviet Union—may be accompanied by rather serious threats insofar as the situation of Europe as a whole is concerned.

Our public opinion has many illusions concerning the change in orientation, or, to call it by its name, our turning toward the West instead of toward the socialist countries. These illusions veil a lack of confidence toward the earlier political practice, but they are fostered mainly by the idea that credits will help us get ourselves out of the swamp of a declining standard of living. We must soberly recognize, however, that today the West is no longer willing to finance the halting of a further decline in standard of living. We may secure loans only for structural change which can no longer be delayed, and for the implementation of rational investment policies.

The Stalin-Khrushchev-Brezhnev Doctrine Is Invalid

The great question that confronts Hungarian foreign policy is whether the crisis of the Stalinist model constitutes at the same time a crisis of Hungarian-Soviet relations. Our response to this must be that in its essence it does not constitute a crisis of Hungarian-Soviet relations. As the study prepared by the MSZMP Central Committee Historical Subcommittee reveals: The forcing upon Hungary of the authoritarian system by all means clouds the system of relationships which evolved out of that model. This cloud must be dispersed. If de-Stalinization takes place in the internal practices of socialist countries, it will be indispensably necessary for socialist countries to de-Stalinize their relationships among each other. The awareness of being a subordinate, the idea of subordination and superiority must be discontinued not only within each country, but also in the relationships among socialist countries, within blocs, and between regions and systems. This process becomes possible only in the long term of course, because de-Stalinization has taken place only in a few socialist countries—in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, the Soviet Union and in China—while elsewhere the old model is sustained with more or less changes. On the other hand, already today it is a fact that the Brezhnev Doctrine, or to put it more accurately, the Stalin-Khruschev-Brezhnev Doctrine, has lost its validity. Ideological

loyalty, the "credibility" or authenticity of socialist construction is no longer a strategic political factor, and a new partnership of confidence is taking shape between the Soviet Union and its allies. The democratization of the functional mechanism of the Warsaw Pact, however, may further increase Hungary's sphere of action within the alliance system.

This new kind of relationship is based on Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policy logic. The distinguished role of world powers—we may rightfully call these the superpowers—will remain a reality for a long time to come, even if the dual polarization of the world in the aftermath of Yalta has decreased in these days within the framework of international relations, and has not applied at all for a long time relative to economic issues, for example. According to the new Soviet foreign policy, however, this represents a distinguished responsibility, and not paternalistic endeavors on part of the great powers.

This novel concept manifests itself in certain independent national foreign policy measures, in the opportunity to experiment, and in the right to express certain theses "earlier". Today, all this is not only possible, but also necessary. There is only one limitation in the path of these opportunities: Independent steps must not hinder and make more difficult the reforms underway in socialist countries. The criterion of internationalism may be defined today on the basis that the enforcement of national interests must not violate the legitimate national interests of other socialist countries. The principles defined in the Helsinki closing document also apply to the international relations of socialist countries, and so do some general values, such as respect for human rights. Without these, international solidarity becomes devoid of content, and humanism vanishes.

The definition and representation of national interests, and the formulation of sovereign foreign policy are indispensable requirements. Namely, if the leadership of a country desires to retain its credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of its people, it is mandatory that it formulate not only domestic policies, but also a foreign policy pursuant to national interests. If de-Stalinization—the Soviet transformation—rehabilitates the principle of popular sovereignty—without which, of course, there exists only authoritarian rule, not socialism—the leadership of the socialist countries must acquire the support and the approval of people also with respect to the building of foreign relations. Only in this way can socialist foreign policy acquire legitimacy.

The fact that the Hungarian leadership has stated first through diplomatic channels, and later in public, that Hungary requires that it belong to the group of countries in whose territories traditional armed forces and armaments are reduced first... also the fact that in the context of the evolution of European conditions Hungary finds it necessary that Soviet troops be gradually withdrawn from Hungary, may be regarded as the representation of national interests, in the favorable sense of that term. If this had not been stated previously by the Hungarian political sphere, then the Soviet announcement at the U.N. concerning troop withdrawals and reductions would have been perceived by Hungarian public opinion as a "gift" from the Soviet Union or from Gorbachev. Accordingly, in the eyes of Hungarian society the withdrawal of Soviet troops fundamentally confirmed the intent of the present Hungarian leadership which wants to fulfill and to enforce our sovereignty. The statement strengthened the legitimacy of the present Hungarian leadership, and thus further increased respect and appreciation toward the new Soviet leadership. It is worthy of mention that authoritative Soviet circles acknowledged the fact that Hungarian political initiatives played a significant role in the decision of Soviet leadership to take this courageous step.

Many are preoccupied with the question of whether it is possible to reform CEMA. From the perspective of 10-15 years there seems to be no possibility for such reform. The fundamental dilemma is that while Western Europe is the region of integration, in Eastern Europe disintegration, polarization, and growing differences in the internal practices of individual socialist countries have become characteristic. Hungary would need integration by all means, but with countries to which our interests are most closely tied. This is made more difficult by differences in the practice of socialism, a completely different enterprise motivation, the respective roles of the state and market, and so on. Insofar as the so-called reform socialist countries are concerned, the hindrance is represented by the fact that as a result of the dissimilar character of the reform these countries are struggling with crises just as Hungary does.

Dual Convergence

It is also useful to weigh the economic relationship with the Soviet Union from the standpoint of advantages and disadvantages, and separate from political dogmas. We should also remember that destabilization of the allies in the region would greatly endanger the success of Gorbachev's transformation. A deeper, more open and acute crisis escalation in the present Hungarian situation would have extremely damaging effects on reform processes evolving in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. Accordingly, under present conditions our responsibility is rather great: the success or failure of our endeavors could significantly influence the international renewal endeavors of socialism.

First we must break some old taboos which were denied for decades relative to the phenomenon of convergence. Let us state openly: Yes, we can talk about convergence, and we can do so in a dual sense. As a result of its common roots, the chief form in which this convergence manifests itself is the mutual approach of the two streams of the workers movement which for long have been artificially and in a fatalistic manner kept separate,

the approach of the communist and the social democratic wings. The main reason for this is the crisis of "raw communism," the rape of history, the deprivation of markets, the lack of supply, and the practical impossibility of making advances in the direction of a homogeneous society. Still today, socialism has not developed on its own immanent base, and thus the self-legitimized economic world of socialism can not yet develop. As compared to Stalin's dogmas, the present endeavors of reform communists constitute a peculiar "reprivatization." Although the slogan: "We will not return the land and the factory" has not lost its validity, respect for individual and personal (private) initiative must be returned. For this we must find the most appropriate proprietary forms (and not in the reverse). Private property which is limited from the outset, various cooperative forms and even state property may serve as a framework for the evolution of individual initiative and entrepreneurial spirit. The evolution of a competitive situation is of the essence. One of the main reasons for the split in the workers movement was the question of whether or not there is a way out from capitalism with the aid of reform, and therefore the social democratic and the reform communist branches are now approaching each other with this "peculiar reprivatization." The basis of the approach is the realization that no modern society functions without mercantile production and a market, and that the crisis of the Stalinist model occurred because of a gross violation of the laws of mercantile production, which is not characteristic of the system. Social functioning and governance has technologies and rules which are independent from the social system. These include democracy, a multiparty system and the prevalence of human rights. These emerge in a variety of forms, and serve various societal goals, including the goal of reform socialism.

And what is emerging in a few socialist countries, including Hungary, is pluralism under proprietary conditions, as well as a civil society, a multiparty system, and so on. In many respects this is reminiscent of what the social democratic and communist movements have achieved through a century of struggle, and what was called "reform capitalism" in earlier days. Accordingly, we may talk about an approach not only between the values of reform communists and social democrats, between movements, and political and intellectual trends, but also between "reform capitalism" and "reform socialism." Nevertheless, by necessity the process flows in two directions: Not only are we approaching capitalism, but capitalism, too, has been becoming "social" for decades. In the most developed capitalist societies, such as Sweden and the United States, collective forms composed of small properties, and an increasing decline of large capital concentrated in single hands is becoming characteristic. Unquestionably, the corporate form carries the marks of socialist collectivism. The approach is not only a blending process, it is also a long term process. It may be regarded as a peculiar "internal" neutralization, which in the final analysis is related to, but which fundamentally cannot be identified with leaving the political and military system of alliance—with "external" neutralization.

As used above, from among the terms "internal" and "external" neutralization, the latter is by all means definitive. The differences are much smaller, and the similarities are greater than we thought earlier. The antagonism of social systems represents an important theoretical issue, but it can no longer serve as a basis for political practice. In practice—and also according to Gorbachev's thoughts—the main emphasis in a world of mutual dependence and interdependence is on the fact that only limited sovereignty can exist, and therefore neutrality has a number of real barriers, including, among other matters, economic dependence.

The Warsaw Pact—Along the French and Greek Patterns

It would be an oversimplification to relegate the idea of Hungarian neutrality exclusively to the world of senseless visions. Politics cannot do without visions and apparitions: It needs an "idealized" future image which transcends direct realities, one which can become a reality only in the long term, as a result of a gradual approach. Accordingly, Hungarian neutrality can be only a long term goal, but as such it represents the fundamental interest of our nation.

It is important from this standpoint that we also differentiate between neutralization on the one hand, and neutrality, on the other. While the former is already a manageable endeavor, the latter is a long term goal, to which the path of neutralization leads. The progress of our neutralization process depends fundamentally on our internal economic consolidation and on the moderation of our economic dependence, and to a lesser extent on external factors. It raises concern that the mention of "external neutrality" in relation to alliance systems as an immediate goal could once again lead to a delay in confronting internal concerns and tasks. This is so, even though today this confrontation could serve as the most important medium term assurance to the effect that we can expand our sphere of action.

The achievement of neutrality as a goal would not mean the complete unloading of Hungary's burdens, or a "redemption" from its pressing concerns, because neutrality would not change our indebtedness. We must also put an end to the illusion according to which the unilateral declaration of neutrality—in the form of a kamikaze action or based on our leaving the Warsaw Pact—would be offset by Western financial support and aid. After all, a step of this nature would not be considered unequivocally by the West: The West would rightfully fear the loosening of its own system of alliance—there, too, we would find self-designated candidates for leaving the alliance—and the upsetting of the entire European status quo. At the same time, if Hungary were to unilaterally leave the Warsaw Pact in the near future, such step

would seriously endanger the success of Soviet transformation efforts. Such action could easily result in the loss of the international environment which is favorable from the standpoint of our development, at the same time could be accompanied by unforeseeable consequences insofar as socialist renewal as a whole is concerned. This then would render the further prevalence of the already mentioned Hungarian processes impossible.

Accordingly, what we need is an independent, Hungarian type of development, which corresponds with our realities. These realities must be formulated independently by Hungary itself, while taking into consideration the long range geostrategic security interests of the Soviet Union, and not its current political interests. Hungarian domestic and foreign policy, the people's diplomacy must do everything to dissolve the bloc view held in Europe. In the long run, the concept of a "common European home" promoted in Gorbachev's foreign policy suggests at the same time the dissolution of military and political organizations, in the form of an end result of a peculiar neutralization process. What we need is a gradual approach, determination, and moderation which takes international realities into account. As a matter of hypothesis we can perceive in the foreseeable future that this process progresses, we will occupy a peculiar position within the Warsaw Pact. In a manner similar to the membership of France and Greece in NATO, the essence of this would be Hungarian participation in the Warsaw Pact as a political organization, and this becomes even more likely if one considers that as relaxation is fulfilled, both NATO and the Warsaw Pact will lose value in their respective capacities as military organizations. All this fundamentally depends on the development of East-West relations, and the relaxation of tensions in their proximate areas.

The medium- and long-term basic conditions for Hungary's conduct within the Warsaw Pact, and of Hungary's "external" neutralization is that in a manner similar to Finland, there came about a national agreement among the various parties and alternative forces to the effect that irrespective of what shape pluralism takes, the axiom of Hungary's social order and of its foreign policy will always be a proper relationship of partners in regard to the Soviet Union, a relationship built on holding national interests in mutual respect, one based on equal rights and full independence. Our national conduct within the Warsaw Pact must fulfill this requirement exclusively. The expression of this principle in the Constitution or in the planned foreign relations law would provide appropriate security to the Soviet Union, just as it would to the continued democratic development of Hungarian society, to utilizing Hungary's available sphere of action, and to preserving European stability.

The bloc image could be dissolved by the establishment of a peculiar kind of central European cooperation. After the [1867] compromise, the integrated market of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy provided at least that many, but perhaps more advantages to Hungary than disadvantages. In addition to economic advantages, from the standpoint of civilization and modernization, it provided to Hungary a certain kind of conveyance and linkage to the more developed West. Although it can be sensed to a lesser extent perhaps, this zone also exists today, because Austria, the FRG (Bavaria) and Northern Italy increasingly fulfill such a role. For this reason, a Central Europe in the broad sense is not only a desire from the standpoint of Hungarian foreign policy, but also a reality, whose fulfillment represents our primary interest.

In the Medium Term: The Finnish Example

Before going any further, we should summarize clearly that today, and within the foreseeable future we cannot resolve our concerns by virtue of our own strength only. Accordingly, we need external motivation, impulses, resources. All this is available to a limited extent only, and in and of itself cannot represent a cure: We cannot expect salvation to come from the outside. We must redeem ourselves. Without misleading ourselves, we must also face the issue of whether external help carries a price which must be paid. Our opportunities and tasks are clearly defined by the fact that our relations with Eastern, central, and southeast European socialist countries could contribute to our daily functioning at most, while on the other hand, assuring our capability to develop renders the deepening of Western economic cooperation as an indispensable necessity. To accomplish this, we must render ourselves receptive. Above all: We must overcome our troubles, and must develop internal conditions, a constitutional state and a modern constitutionality which provide assurances in every respect to foreign investors and entrepreneurs.

Hungarian foreign policy and the entire Hungarian political sphere must develop a European character centered around the nation. This means a degree of linkage between democracy and national values, which protects us from becoming provincial in any way, as well as from the servile adoption of Western patterns. Therefore we should pay attention to what Gyula Illyes had to say: One who conducts himself in Paris as if he were in Bugac is not provincial. The one who conducts himself in Bugac as if he were in Paris is provincial.

Taking into consideration today's realities, in the medium term Finland's example deserves the attention of Hungarian foreign policy. It represents the sensible linkage of the advantages of Eastern and Western markets, which from our standpoint represents a goal that could be realized without leaving the Warsaw Pact and without Hungarian neutrality.

We must implement further openings toward the West in a manner so that those openings do not damage our Eastern linkage, and most of all our relations with the Soviet Union. At the same time, quite naturally, we must

try to develop our system of relationships based on efficiency in the realm of economics, and by fully enforcing our equal rights at the political level.

As a final conclusion we must openly state: A fundamental change in the orientation of Hungarian foreign policy today is not only impossible, it would serve no purpose either. At the same time, the building of balanced relations with the Eastern and Western parts of Europe, the consistent enforcement of dual orientation is not only an existential necessity for Hungary, it is the command of our age.

ROK Foreign Minister Interviewed, Departs
LD3003185689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] [Presenter] ROK Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung left Budapest a short time ago. Choe Ho-chung evaluated his visit in an interview with our correspondent Istvan Lantos:

[Lantos] Choe Ho-chung told me that he was very satisfied at the conclusion of his 3-day talks. He said he had been enchanted by his Hungarian hosts' hospitality, and last but not least, by the beauty of the Hungarian capital. However, it was not only this that he discussed with Karoly Grosz in their unusually lengthy, over 1-hour-long talks. Both sides confirmed their intention to aid a rapid and forceful expansion of economic relations. I was very happy that I was able to speak in English with Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, about the heartening increase of contacts between our peoples and leaders, the head of Seoul's diplomatic service said.

Choe Ho-chung also alluded to the fact, for instance, at his exchange of views with our parliament's new speaker, Matyas Szueros, that the good relations developing between our countries can serve as an example for the formation of relations between the ROK and other socialist countries. The ROK foreign minister emphatically included in this sphere the DPRK as well. He also described it as a good example of the developing relations that, on the basis of the favorable recommendation of the Seoul television (?correspondent) who accompanied him, mean it can soon be expected that South Korea will send a permanent television correspondent to Budapest.

Reaction to Anti-Ceausescu Letter Viewed
AU3003140289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Gyorgy V.Nonn: "What Will the Romanian Alternative Be Like?—After the Apostles' Letter"]

[Text] There has been a long silence following the letter of the veteran Communists that condemned Ceausescu. There has been less reaction than expected both at home and in the world at large. Of course, no one expected that the Romanian masses would immediately take to the streets to implement the demands of "the six," because to this very day the masses have not heard anything about this letter from the Romanian media. The official propaganda considered it dangerous to even deny the letter's demands, in case someone asked what it was all about. Bucharest has remained silent since its first retort went awry.

Mircea Raceanu, the son of one of the signatories of the letter condemning Ceausescu, has just been "proven" a spy, and this appeared in all the newspapers. As usual, the authorities simultaneously started to organize the flood of condemnatory letters from the "people," and Bucharest radio carried excerpts from these letters. However, something must have gone wrong in the chain of news: Some people wrote about several traitors instead of only one, while others condemned the "spy" for underestimating the results of the Ceausescu era. The latter obviously believed that they should already condemn the signatories, but no one knew about these signatories officially. Therefore, the propagandists of the leader ended the campaign and considered it better to remain silent on these events.

However, it is more difficult to explain the limited reaction of the international press and the way it has commented on this epoch-making letter and its expected consequences. The newspapers outside Romania do not work according to "the guidelines of the wise leader." With the exception of Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Poland, no other socialist country has informed its readers in detail about the letter, although this letter was written by veteran Communists. It is possible that this was precisely the reason for the relatively brief analysis of the substance of this letter in the Western press.

It is a fact that, thanks to the BBC, the whole world learned about the existence of this document, which turned everyone's attention to the situation prevailing in Romania. The Western press agencies were the first to point out that this letter opened up a qualitatively new period of protest, as this time it was Ceausescu's former comrades who had answered a deliberate no to the continuation of this 24-year-old "golden era." But this is precisely what disturbs many people. They cannot openly admire the sincere words of people who, as is well known, were not merely idle spectators at the time when this condemned policy started under way.

Has the time come, indeed, to dig into the stormy past of the six signatories and to give Ceausescu ideas about how to accuse his political opponents before the whole world? Perhaps those persons are right who, prompted by the appearance of the name of former Politburo member Gheorghe Apostol, one of the high-ranking signatories of the letter, said that today we do not judge Christ's apostles on the basis of what they did prior to their repentance. Although the signatories of this letter are only half of them in number, they are today's apostles in Romania.

Each of them is over 70 years old, so they did not formulate their demands with a view to personally carrying out their implementation. First of all, they concentrated on the most urgent changes: putting an end to the village systematization plan, restoring constitutional guarantees for citizens rights, and stopping the food exports. These concise demands which were obviously formulated with great care can find broad support in Romania. Party and nonparty members, conservatives and liberals, soldiers and civilians, Romanians, and Hungarians, and nationalists and internationalists alike can accept these demands. Perhaps the goal of the authors was to establish such a broad front, and, although the introductory lines of the letter do provide some guidelines, the authors wish to determine the further tasks in a dialogue to be held with the government. As to what these tasks should be, this obviously also depends on those who join them in the debate. However, one thing is certain: None of the signatories can be suspected of being a Hungarian agent, and not only because of their pure Romanian origin but also because their past and political careers are also far removed from today's domestic efforts. It is no accident that their letter did not include the demand for an independent press, free elections, and a multiparty system. Nor do we know whether these demands will emerge in our Eastern neighbors in the foreseeable future.

In his works published abroad, Silviu Brucan, the former chief editor of the Romanian party daily and the person who supposedly formulated this letter, writes that equalization [egyenlosites] is the greatest mistake of the existing socialism: identical settlements, wages without differentiation, uniform education, and a homogeneous population. This is obviously how it is seen in Bucharest. Anyone who develops a theory does so at his own peril. One does not yet know exactly what this theory will be like, but no doubt it will be a specifically Romanian one.

Police Officials Discuss Country's Drug Use

AU2303112389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Gyorgy Lasz, staff member of the Press Department of the Ministry of Interior, and Lieutenant Colonel Laszlo Kiss and Major Janos Szabados, deputy department heads at the National Police Headquarters, by Istvan Illes: "Hard Drugs Are Still Only in Transit in Hungary—Self-Destruction and Crime"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Within the framework of the National Research Information Days, a scientific conference on drug abuse and AIDS began on 20 March. According to the crime statistics, up until September 1988 a total of 18,533 crimes were committed in Hungary by people under the influence of alcohol; people under the influence of drugs were involved in 37 cases; and drug substitutes were involved in 84 cases. To what extent are these statistics realistic, and what lies behind them? We asked Gyorgy Lasz, Laszlo Kis, and Janos Szabados about this.

[Illes] The use of drugs that artificially affect human awareness and behavior is also spreading in Hungary, particularly among young people. What is the reason for this?

Janos Szabados: Escape from problems or boredom and conflict with adults are reasons for drug abuse, but the use of stupor-inducing drugs can also be a group-bonding force. According to statistics, in almost all cases young boys drink alcohol because of their desire to become adults and to demonstrate their masculinity. [passage omitted]

It is frequently the case that young girls become prostitutes at an early age, which simultaneously leads them to alcoholism or drug abuse, and which is closely related to these crimes. [passage omitted]

[Illes] For a long time it was forbidden to talk or write about drug use in Hungary, but this did not halt the use and spread of drugs here. What is the situation today?

Dr Laszlo Kiss: In the sixties, what we knew about this phenomenon was only based on rumors, and we believed that it could not spread throughout our society because it was not possible for these drugs to penetrate our country. In fact, really hard drugs did not spread, but the number of people who use drug substitutes and substances to induce stupor is increasing annually. There are about 100 criminal cases a year that are connected with drugs or drug substitutes.

[Illes] Is it true that in drug smuggling Hungary is still a transit area and not a destination? Alarming rumors have repeatedly emerged according to which foreigners in Hungary are trying to "push" drugs among our young people, mainly our high school students in Budapest. Are these rumors true?

Dr Laszlo Kiss: "Real" drugs continue to only pass through Hungary. Our activity, in cooperation with Interpol, is increasingly successful. As for the rumors, we are also aware of them and we investigate every such case. Fortunately, no such rumor has proven to be true. The situation in Hungary is characterized by the use of drug substitutes. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Meets With Belgium's Martens

LD3003190889 Warsaw PAP in English 1542 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Premier of the Kingdom of Belgium Wilfried Martens, now on an official visit to Poland.

The sides exchanged opinions on the most important problems in the present international situation pointing to the significance of the concept of the "common European home" for the CSCE process.

Internal problems including the reformatory transformations in Poland were also discussed.

Referring to centuries-long, rich traditions linking the two countries as well as to the present Polish-Belgian relations, the sides expressed willingness for and pointed to possibilities of further development of bilateral contacts and cooperation in all spheres.

Polish and Belgian Ministers of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski and Leo Tindemans participated in the meeting. Present were also Poland's ambassador to Belgium Stanislaw Matosek and Belgian Ambassador to Poland Thierry de Gruben.

Martens Cited on Debt Issue

LD3003214589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Wilfried Martens, prime minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, has continued political talks.

The head of the Belgian Government was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski. Views were exchanged on the most important problems of the current international situation, drawing particular attention to the significance of the concept of a common European home. There was also discussion of domestic problems, including the reformatory transformations being made in Poland. Both politicians expressed a desire for further development of contacts between both states and cooperation on all planes.

During the second round of talks, at the office of the Council of Ministers, both Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Wilfried Martens stressed a readiness to develop economic cooperation and to tighten Polish-Belgian cultural and youth contacts, as well as contacts in the sphere of environmental protection and tourism. An opportunity has arisen to normalize our finance and credit relations. The head of the Belgian Government stated his support for Poland's attempts to conclude an agreement with the EEC and for closer contacts with the Council of Europe. With the Sejm speaker, Roman Malinowski, Prime Minister Martens discussed proposals to enliven parliamentary contacts between Poland and Belgium and with other states of the Western European community.

In the afternoon, at the INTERPRESS press center, Wilfried Martens and Leo Tindemans answered journalists' questions. They assessed very positively the results of the 2-day political talks in Warsaw, informing [the journalists] of an invitation to Mieczyslaw Rakowski to pay an official visit to Belgium. Its date will be decided upon through diplomatic channels. A large number of the questions put to Prime Minister Martens concerned our financial relations:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified journalist] In an interview for Polish television yesterday, you said that, in the Club of Rome, Belgium intended to set an example for solving the problem of Polish debt. Can you explain how you intend to do this?

[Martens] I simply expressed our exceptionally positive relations on the issue of solving the Polish debt. Without that help from the Western states, it would be very difficult to reform the economy. We think, and indeed we are convinced, that the political reforms being made are very important and, moreover, we believe they condition the success of the economic reforms. For these to bring the expected results and by the same token support the process of political changes, the Western countries have to act. How? We know how: with the aid of bilateral agreements. We have already proposed appropriate solutions enabling Poland to get out of the difficult economic situation; i.e. in other words, the rescheduling [rozlozenie] of your debt in a way which fits in with the economic reforms being implemented in Poland. [end recording]

First Round of Polish-EEC Talks Takes Place

AU2903103489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 9

[Report signed 'J.M.': "Favorable Forecasts"]

[Text] The first round of talks between Poland and the EEC Commission on the subject of a trade and economic cooperation agreement ended in Brussels on Wednesday. The talks were attended by representatives of every EEC member country. This gave them added importance.

The two chief negotiators, Andrzej Olechowski from our own Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation and Pablo Benavides from the EEC Commission, underlined the propitious climate of the talks and praised their outcome, as well as the pragmatic approach of both sides.

The outline of a future agreement has already been established. It should be signed by the end of the year.

The preamble to this agreement is supposed to express the desire of Poland and the EEC to serve the development of Europe and East-West relations. It is meant to refer to the CSCE process and state the complete equality of both sides. In other words, this document is to receive the status of an international treaty.

The agreement itself would include such groups of topics as: trade (taking into account the gradual elimination of restrictions on quantities), economic and scientific cooperation (taking into account cooperation at factory level and joint ventures), exchanges of information about the principles and conditions of economic and trade activity; and economic arbitration.

Both sides agree that their most-favored-nation clauses should have a legal safeguard and that trade should be expanded according to GATT principles.

Our negotiators claim that the results of the talks so far conform to Polish expectations. The talks have devoted the correct degree of attention to the problem of solving Poland's debts, on which various forms of cooperation depend.

The next round of Polish-EEC talks is planned for May.

Olechowski Addresses Dinner for Uruguay's Tassano
AU2903134489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 6

[Speech by Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, at a dinner given in honor of Luis B. Tassano, minister of foreign affairs of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, in Warsaw on 22 March]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Minister!
Ladies and gentlemen!

It sincerely pleases me that you are visiting our country. We established diplomatic relations 64 years ago, that is, in 1925. Since then our cooperation has systematically developed. At no time in history have we found ourselves on opposing sides, and we have often acted together, espousing the same principles.

I am convinced that your current visit will give new impetus to the mutually advantageous relations that have been developed.

We wish to create a basis, for cooperation and contacts, that satisfies the present requirements and aspirations of our peoples. Poland, like Uruguay, is receptive to external cooperation and contacts based on principles of equality and mutual respect.

This is our common, valuable achievement. We want to strengthen and increase it. As our talks showed, we have a common desire for and an awareness of possibilities for accelerating the development of our relations, for expanding them to take in new areas and methods of cooperation. In particular, we want to do significantly more in the area of economic cooperation.

In 1938 we concluded a trade agreement in Montevideo. In 1986, 48 years later, a trade agreement was signed. I am stressing these two examples in order to highlight this area for possible activity. Both Poland and Uruguay can be valuable partners for one another.

We want the current simple forms of trade to move toward becoming lasting ties of cooperation.

We discern a need and a possibility to enhance political dialogue and social contacts in a broad sense.

Mr Minister, what I have been speaking about is of particular significance today. We are going through a stormy period in the development of the international situation. New concepts of cooperation and an awareness of the importance of global problems have come into being. It is becoming imperative for all states and peoples to combine efforts for the sake of maintaining peace and enhancing international dialogue.

In view of its historical experience and geopolitical location, Poland has traditionally worked to promote detente. The most recent form that this has taken has been the Polish plan for reducing weapons and increasing confidence in central Europe. We view with great interest and sympathy, Uruguay's activities in the international arena aimed at promoting peace, disarmament, and the fostering of new, more just economic and financial relations between states. We appreciate the activities that Uruguay has undertaken with respect to the debt question. We are counting on further fruitful cooperation between our delegations to international organizations.

I wish to stress our support for the work undertaken by Uruguay within the framework of the Rio "8" Group aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Central America.

We support the agreement achieved by the five Central American presidents in Guatemala and El Salvador. It is a reflection of the growing awareness on the part of states in the region that it is necessary for them to intensify their own efforts in order to achieve lasting, peaceful settlements.

Mr Minister, I profoundly believe that your visit to Poland will contribute to the expansion of Polish-Uruguayan cooperation, to the enhancement of our collaboration in finding solutions to the key problems of today's world.

I wish you, your esteemed wife, and the persons accompanying you a fruitful and pleasant stay in our country. I propose a toast to you, Mr Minister, your wife, and your colleagues, and may friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Uruguay and Poland continue to develop.

USSR Economists Warned of Polish 'Crisis'

LD2903015189 Warsaw PAP in English 1617 GMT 28 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, March 28—A prominent Soviet economist Oleg Bogomolov told the daily MOSKOVSKY KOMSOMOLETS that economists from the USSR Academy of Sciences had warned the Soviet leadership in the late 1970s of an imminent crisis in Poland.

"We were warning of an oncoming economic and sociopolitical crisis in Poland. We did that in a rather categorical manner, too. This, however, was discordant with the official opinion which tried to minimalize the graveness of the situation, to turn a blind eye to many a negative process," Bogomolov told the daily.

Bogomolov is director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' institute of economics of the world socialist system.

Transport Minister Receives FRG Counterpart

LD2803230489 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 28—Poland's Minister of Transport, Shipping and Communications Janusz Kaminski started here today talks with West German Minister of Transport Juergen Warnke.

The two ministers are discussing possibilities to expand Polish-West German cooperation in passenger and cargo transport.

Mongolian Party Delegation Received on Visit

LD3003152189 Warsaw PAP in English 1235 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—A delegation of the Committee of Party Control of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), led by Political Bureau member of the MPRP CC [Central Committee] and chairman of the committee of Party Control Bandzragchiyn Lamjav came to Poland at the invitation from the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Control-Audit Commission.

The Mongolian delegation was received yesterday by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and chairman of the PUWP Central Control-Audit Commission Kazimierz Cypryniak. He told Mongolian guests about Poland's socio-political situation and acquainted them with organizational structure, tasks and methods of work of the Central Control-Audit Commission.

Jaruzelski Addresses Pathfinders Congress

LD2903214789 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 29: "I am among you not to do my duty but from my heart's need," Wojciech Jaruzelski told a group of delegates to the Polish Pathfinders' Union (ZHP) Congress here today.

Recalling his years as a boy-scout, the general said that the experiences and values he gained then helped him to overcome very difficult moments of his life, hardened him and taught many important things.

The delegates were interested, among other things, in the PUWP's [Polish United Workers Party] attitude to ZHP. Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the party is not going to lead the Pathfinders' movement. You should not view the PUWP as an institution to be subordinated to, but as an organization sharing your ideals. You alone should find such a form of the union which will be consistent with the reality of life and the organization's needs, said the general.

Asked about the Pathfinders' unity, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that he advocates unity but not a doctrinal one, he is for diversity of attitudes, for variety in voicing opinions and needs. Such things only enrich the organization, he stated.

Siwicki Addresses Members

LD3003033989 Warsaw PAP in English 2310 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—The Polish Pathfinders' Union (ZHP) inaugurated its debates in the congress hall of the Palace of Culture and Science here today. According to the delegates' will, the forum assumed the name of the 26th union's congress referring thus to the 70-year-long ZHP history.

Nearly a thousand delegates face three busy days in which they are to work out a new programme for the organization's activity, to make changes in the statute and choose authorities for the coming four years.

Present were representatives of the PUWP's [Polish United Workers Party] authorities with Wojciech Jaruzelski, of the United Peasants' Party (ZSL) with Roman Malinowski, of the Democratic Party (SD) with Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, of the national council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth with Jan Dobraczynski, of the government with Ireneusz Sekula, and of the main Council of the Pathfinders' Friends with Florian Siwicki.

Also several foreign delegations representing the young pioneers, scouts and youth organizations, and the international association of children and youth came to the congress.

ZHP leader Ryszard Wosinski delivered a programmatic report stating that in the difficult 80's the pathfinders' movement still enjoys great sympathy and trust. At the same time, however, it undergoes presently a serious test of its social maturity.

In new conditions ZHP faces the necessity of undertaking bold, unconventional decisions, continued Wosinski pointing to the need of making the union, according to the etymology of its name, the outpost of reforms aimed at defining a new shape of social life in Poland.

The unity of the pathfinders' movement, also coming up to society's pluralistic expectations, is indispensable in order to prevent political and social conflicts from spreading onto the world of children and youth.

And so, Wosinski went on to say, the resolutions and decisions of the congress should proclaim ZHP's openness and fidelity to the fundamental human, civil, and national values.

By tradition and by choice we are a state-backing organization, Wosinski further said. At the same time we take the state as a concrete social, economic, and political reality which constitutes a common property of all the citizens. We cooperate with all the political forces which contribute to the actual Polish reality. Our stand is that ZHP should be a secular organization which does not signify by any means any atheisation or infringing religious feelings of the majority of our members. The principle of secularity should basically denote the religious neutrality of the organization towards the world outlooks shared by its members, Wosinski said.

Economic education, preparing a Pathfinder for a full-scale participation in the economic game, is important in ZHP's future-oriented educational efforts. Another important element is working with outstandingly talented people who are predestined to play significant social roles, ZHP leader said.

At the end of his speech, Wosinski called on all ZHP instructors, teenage pathfinders, academic pathfinders, and seniors to give up animosities and to commonly search for such ways of acting which would make the pathfinders movement useful for Poland and its future.

The chairman of the council of Pathfinders Friends and the minister of National Defence, Gen Florian Siwicki, said in his speech that the congress debate proved that pathfinders were not going to stand aside of the historic process in which the deep political and economic reforms were gathering momentum and in which a new shape of Polish socialism was emerging.

The deep transformations in Poland, Siwicki said, have brought about the need to introduce changes in ZHP. The climate which preceded the congress favours the development of ZHP as a youth organization which self-improves its structures, and makes its educational programme more attractive. In that situation the tendencies to divide pathfinders into those "better and worse" ones and making artificial divisions does not add to the public weal, Siwicki added.

The protection and strengthening of ZHP's unity as a citizens and patriotic organization of the whole youth is an extremely important task today, the defence minister emphasized. He expressed a conviction at the same time that ZHP would remain an open organization for all young Poles regardless of differences concerning world outlook. It is the supreme goal of the Pathfinders Union to prepare the youth for serving the one and indivisible homeland, Siwicki concluded.

Then the congress granted the vote of acceptance of accounts to the retiring ZHP's main board. Also, regulations were adopted concerning the election of the organizations highest authorities, according to which the union's leader would be elected by the congress while the main board would choose the presidium from among themselves and the chairman of the main board, the function of which was reinstated after a long interval.

Debates in eight subject teams opened late in at night.

PRON Statement on Roundtable, Plenum

LD3003215189 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—The National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) today issued a statement voicing its appreciation for the political parties and other partners of the coalition, forces of constructive opposition and all those who had rendered round table talks possible, and stressed the special significance of crucial decisions taken by the 10th PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] plenum.

"We are witnessing the birth of a new shape of Poland in which disputes and conflicts will be settled through discussion and negotiations and not through sharp confrontation. This process gives special reasons for satisfaction to the activists of our movement, for it means the materialization of a concept dear to us for many years," the statement read.

The statement also expressed that the forthcoming elections to the Sejm and Senate will be carried out in accordance with the principles worked out at the round table.

Roundtable Teams Continue Meetings

LD3103041689 Warsaw PAP in English
2320 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—Today, three round-table teams held their sessions. The team for the economy and social policy met for the 11th time, presided over by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski.

The group continued work on a document which would determine the teams stance on social and economic policy and system reforms. The meeting resolved to appoint a working group to prepare before the next session a new text of the entry on mining.

The pay indexation continues to cause controversy. The stances of coalition-government and opposition-Solidarnosc sides are convergent but objections were put forward by representatives of OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] who will present their stance at the next meeting. They also read a statement by the OPZZ council on the draft stance of the team for economy and social policy and system reforms adopted at council's sitting this March 30.

The team also discussed the introduction of market mechanisms to the food economy, a program of labour protection and employment, and principles of the new economic order. It was resolved that the drafting team will work on detailed entries of each point of the joint document.

The roundtable team for trade union pluralism held its ninth sitting today. The debates which were chaired by one of the teams three co-chairmen, Romuald Sosnowski, were dominated by the problem of persons dismissed from work for trade union activities after December 13, 1981.

The opposition-Solidarnosc side which postulated at first to have these persons automatically, obligatorily reinstated presented at the sitting a new proposal of solving that important human problem by way of compromise. The proposal's essence lies in appointing a temporal civic conciliatory commission at the minister who deals with trade unions. [sentence as received] Persons who are dismissed after December 13, 1981 and were refused to be re-employed could appeal to the commission. A given worker could claim his right to be reinstated in a court of law on the basis of the commission's decision which would consider the circumstances of each dismissal and the situation in the factory.

In general, the assumptions of that concept were approved by all sides represented in the team. Many questions emerged, however, in the discussion concerning, among other things, the question of who can be entitled to use that possibility, the procedure of collecting evidence, the commission's powers, and the legal character of its decisions. The sides decided to pass that question over to a working group of lawyers for detailed eleboration. The results of the group's work will be discussed at a meeting on April 4.

The team for political reforms held its 8th meeting today under the chairmanship of Bronsilaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski. The debate concerned several key issues concluding the nearly 2-month work of the team and its working groups. The participants referred to the results and suggestions voiced at Wednesday's meeting between Czeslaw Kisz Czak and Lech Walesa.

The first part of the meeting was devoted to opinions on the shape, tasks, and powers of the mediation commission that will work after the roundtable has ended.

The discussants also exchanged opinions and remarks on the proposed document titled "Political Deal" and drafted by a special working group. The document is to play a key role and summarize the discussion which has continued for many weeks in the roundtable team for political reforms.

In the afternoon part of the meeting, the participants acquainted themselves with the results of work done by the subteam for education, science, and technological progress and they particularly focused on the political aspects of these fields. In the end of the conference the participants of the political reforms team authorized their co-chairmen to agree upon the document "Political Deal" which sums up the team's work. They also decided that if necessary, the political reforms team would meet once again before the roundtable's plenary.

OPZZ Discusses Living Costs, Work Protection

LD3003042989 Warsaw PAP in English
2246 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—The Executive Committee of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions met here today to discuss, among many other topics, two of special importance to working people. The first is conclusions from an analysis of incomes, costs of living, and the minimum standard of living in the past year. The second subject was the protection of work.

The increase of the populations incomes last year was much higher than in the previous years, reaching 83.1 per cent. But this increase was not distributed evenly. The relatively lowest increase occurred in payouts for wages (by 72.6 per cent) and welfare allowances (by 78.3 per cent) while the highest increase, by 111 per cent, was recorded in the incomes of the private sector, except private farming.

According to the OPZZ unit for studies and statistics the minimum standard of living in a 4-person working family last year was little over 20 thousand zlotys per person monthly and in a 2-person household of retirees and pensioners 17.8 thousand zlotys per person. It has

been found necessary to include the prices of alcohol and tobacco in statistic calculations of the costs of living. The OPZZ statistical unit estimates that the slump in real incomes last year hit about 12 million people living below or on the brink of minimum standard of living.

The unionists were critical about the present hygiene and safety of work. The number of workplace accidents, including fatalities, has remained unchanged for years and the number of new cases of occupational diseases is not declining. The accuracy of this assessment is confirmed by the fact that improvement of working conditions is among the most important postulates of striking crews.

According to the unionists it is necessary not only to close down factories harmful to the natural environment but also those seeming unable to improve their working conditions.

The committee was against the idea to introduce paying for food in sanatoria, which the government can do under the budget law. The committee said that this plan would largely limit the access to treatment provided by sanatoria of the lowest-paid groups, especially the retired and pensioners.

Sejm Extraordinary Committee Accepts New Drafts
LD2903204889 Warsaw PAP in English
1828 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—At the close of the second-day debate here today the Sejm extraordinary committee appointed last week unanimously adopted the draft laws on amendments to the law on trade unions and the trade unions of private farmers. The draft law on associations was adopted with one abstention.

The committee introduced a few substantive changes to the latter draft, aimed at increased self-management powers of associations and at reducing the supervisory function of state administration bodies to a necessary minimum.

Protest Lodged Against Building Nuclear Plant
AU3003145589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Mar 89 p 1

[Report by Wladyslaw Wrzask: "Controversy Surrounding the Construction of the 'Warta' Nuclear Power Station"]

[Excerpts] Klempicz is a small village not far from Wronki, Szamotul, and Czarnkow and somewhat further away from Pila and Poznan. Poland's second nuclear power station, the "Warta" power station, is to be built there.

Although no formal decision on the investment project has actually been made yet, work has already started on preparing the site, which is planned to be quite extensive. It is to be an enormous and costly undertaking that specialists believe is essential in order to at least partially offset the growing shortage of electric power. [passage omitted]

A lot of myths and fears have grown up around the "Warta" nuclear power station. Although various arguments are being advanced during the current debate, the community remains deeply concerned. Protests by the inhabitants of Wronki have resulted in the local people's council lodging an official protest against the construction of the power station at Klempicz. [passage omitted]

'Difficult Talks' With Farmers Begin
LD3103035689 Warsaw PAP in English
2230 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—An inter-ministerial team started talks here today with the commission that coordinates the farmer's protest action appointed by the main board of the Polish Union of Farmers and farmers circles and organizations.

The difficult talks cover 11 postulates submitted to the government by the Union on behalf of the protesting farmers. Under discussion is the way to eliminate dangers posed for agriculture by the inflation and price hikes.

Head of the coordinating commission Antoni Parys told PAP that after many hours, laborious and controversial talks with the sides agreed to suspend payments and financial commitments of farmers due on the score of taxes, insurances, and premiums til the market mechanisms are introduced to the food economy plus one month.

We also agreed, he said, that the government side will make efforts to remove the variable interest rate for credits assigned for the development of the agricultural production.

Applications Accepted for Foreign Exchange Bureaus
LD2903163489 Warsaw PAP in English
1505 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—The National Bank of Poland (NBP) announced today that it started considering applications for granting individual licences to open foreign exchange bureaus under the new foreign curency law which came into force on March 15.

Economic units from the socialized and non-socialized sector, Polish banks and individual citizens can apply for the permission.

Ambassador to France Recalled for Consultations

AU3103090189 Paris AFP in English
2125 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Paris, March 30 (AFP)—Romania on Thursday recalled its ambassador in France to Bucharest for consultations, in the latest incident in a row over French allegations of human rights abuses in the East European country.

Envoy Petre Gigea, during a meeting he had requested with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to announce the move, expressed regret over "the attitude of the French media towards his country," and over the cancellation of a planned French-Romanian trade meeting, a French spokesman said.

The Romanian move comes two weeks after France recalled its envoy to Bucharest for consultations. The French ambassador returned to his post on March 24.

The row centres on French condemnations of Romania's controversial village resettlement project, and reports of police action against Romanian dissidents who protested about the policy in a letter to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

On March 22 French President Francois Mitterrand condemned the resettlement policy, and warned the Romanian government against infringing the right to free speech of the letter-writers.

Two days, after reports that the six dissidents had been harrassed by the police, France withdrew its ambassador.

Ceausescu Receives Departing Portuguese Envoy

AU3003183889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1745 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/3/1989—Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Thursday, 30 March, Luis Quartin, ambassador of the Portuguese Republic to Bucharest, on ending his mission in Romania.

During the interview reference was made to the good ties between Romania and Portugal, willingness being expressed to work for their further growth, in the interests of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, security and collaboration in Europe and the world over.

The Portuguese ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support he was given to fulfill his mission in Romania.

Andrei, Bulgaria's Lukanov Meet, Sign Protocol

AU2503153589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2154 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/3/1989—On March 24, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, Romanian deputy prime minister, had a working meeting in the town of Ruse with Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party, minister of foreign economic affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

During the meeting questions were approached related to the increase of commercial exchanges, the expansion of cooperation in and specialization of production, for the attainment of the understandings reached at top level.

On the occasion a protocol for commercial exchanges in 1989 was signed.

Dascalescu Sends Message to Iraq

JN2803155489 Baghdad INA in English
1453 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Baghdad, Mar. 28, INA—Member of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and First Deputy Premier Taha Yasin Ramadan received today a written message from Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu.

The message is pertaining to bilateral relations and Romania's wish to expand cooperation with Iraq. It was delivered to Mr. Ramadan by the Romanian ambassador to Iraq during a meeting here today.

Lina Ciobanu Receives Cuban Sports Official

AU2903182689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1710 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/3/1989—March 29, Lina Ciobanu, Romanian deputy prime minister, received Conrado Martinez Corona, chairman of the National Institute for Sports, Physical Education and Recreation of Cuba, who paid a visit to Romania.

On the occasion, stress was laid on the fine cooperative links between the two countries and on the possibilities to further develop the bilateral relations in sports.

Palestinian Charge d'Affaires Meets Press

AU3003184189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1743 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/3/1989—On Thursday, 30 March, the charge d'affaires ad interim of the State of Palestine to Romania, Isma'il Ahmad Muhammad, met with representatives of the Romanian leading press and with foreign correspondents accredited to Bucharest when he spoke about the significance of the day of 30 March—"Day of the Land".

Kosovo Situation Described; Death Toll Disputed

Fear of Coming Weekend

AU3003150989 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Marjan (?Drobez) report from Kosovo]

[Text] The official reports that journalists covering the Kosovo events obtained from the spokesmen of the Committee for Information in a short interview 30 minutes ago give the number of dead as 21 demonstrators and 2 militiamen in all. We also learned that the situation is normalizing in production and that the number of workers who are responding to the compulsory work orders is constantly increasing, and that the restrictions of movements and the curfew are yielding positive results all over the province.

Political activists are constantly among the people. They convey to them how serious the situation is and how it endangers all the people in the province and Yugoslavia. At the same time, they urge people not to fall for the provocations of the nationalists who want to use them for their sinister aims.

This apparent peace is quite different if journalists talk with the people, especially ethnic Albanians. These people are convinced that there have been many more casualties, and that the explanations by the authorities alleging that some of the people who have died violent deaths in the past few days were slipped in as victims of the demonstrations, while in fact they were victims of blood feuds, are not true, because the Albanians, in order to rally their ranks in the struggle for the old Constitution and their rights, have forgotten the old differences between the families, and have shaken hands and exchanged the word of honor, meaning that the sworn revenge for old acts will not be carried out.

This report, as well as the firm determination by many Albanians to persist in their struggle for their rights, regardless of casualties, indicates that it is completely wrong to believe that the riots in Kosovo have ended. This coming Saturday is supposed to be one of the crucial days. This is the anniversary of the 1981 riots; some people predict that the nationalists and separatists are preparing their main blow for that day.

Many Albanians assert, however, that this is not so, because they are aware that Kosovo is at present full of reinforced militia units and the Army and that any armed conflict would inevitably end in their defeat at this moment. Therefore, they say that they will stay patient until the abolition of the state of emergency and until the departure of the joint detachments of the militia and the Army, at which time they will bare their teeth.

This, of course, is speculation among people. The next few days will show what will really happen. It is certainly clear that there will no peace in Kosovo for a long time to come.

Wounded Not Seeking Aid

LD3003182889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1459 GMT 30 mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 30 (TANJUG)—According to the latest official data, 23 people were killed in the violent ethnic-Albanian separatist demonstrations in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo earlier this week.

The dead included two policemen and 21 demonstrators.

Nine policemen received serious injuries and 112 police officers and other members of the security service were hurt to a lesser degree.

Ninety-two demonstrators have sought medical help so far—the number of injured among protesters is thought to be greater, but they are clearly reluctant to approach health services for fear of identification.

Possibly 140 Albanians Dead

AU3003191889 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Special correspondent Marjan Drobez report from Pristina]

[Text] It is certain now that there have been more dead and wounded than officially reported by the Kosovo Internal Affairs Secretariat. Coffins containing the bodies of the victims of the Monday and Tuesday demonstrations are waiting at the Pristina central hospital; they are waiting their turn for post mortems. Several of the dead were buried by their relatives in secret because they wanted to pay them honor according to Albanian custom, but public commemorations at the cemeteries would not please the authorities.

People died in Pristina, Podujevo, Decani, the village of Zur near Prizren, and in other places in Kosovo, where all together, some 14,000 ethnic Albanians demonstrated last Monday and Tuesday.

About 140 Albanians have possibly lost their lives in these and other riots, and some 370 demonstrators are said to have been wounded. The exact number of the latter will probably never be established, because the wounded are being treated in secret at their homes in fear of possible reprisals. Perhaps they are using the medicines and other supplies that had disappeared in large quantities from clinics and stores of Kosovo health organizations.

My colleague Marjan (Dora) and I today saw traces of blood and bullets near the bus station in Titova Mitrovica, where the clash between the demonstrators and the

militiamen took place. The demonstrators supposedly were not armed, but while the militiamen tried to disperse and chase them away, shots were fired at them from some houses. In the showdown, 11 persons were killed, said to include children, women, and old people. The coffins with the bodies were taken to Pristina for post mortem. Traces of the blood that was shed are still visible in Dara Zarkovic Street in Titova Mitrovica.

Another victim was found in Titova Mitrovica in a (?house) yesterday. This is said to be a 13-year-old boy who lost his life under unclarified circumstances.

Kosovo is fearfully awaiting what may happen in the period from 1 to 4 April, which is the anniversary of the bloody events of the period of the so-called counterrevolution in 1981.

Arms, Documents Seized

AU3003173989 Paris AFP in English
1723 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, March 30 (AFP)—Weapons, explosives and unspecified "military equipment" to help ethnic Albanians in an armed uprising has been discovered in Kosovo province, where riots this week have left at least 24 dead, a top official said Thursday on Yugoslav television.

Stane Dolanc, a member of the state Presidency and head of the Yugoslav secret services, said that documents seized with the cache "revealed the Albanian nationalists and separatists' true objectives".

These objectives were "the secession not only of Kosovo of but also a part of Macedonia, Montenegro and southern Serbia", where a major ethnic Albanian community is based.

Mr. Dolanc did not say when the cache was seized. He said the the arms had "come from abroad", without indicating from which country. He added that "several (arms-smuggling) networks" had been dismantled by investigators.

The documents made "direct appeals for an armed uprising", he said. [passage omitted]

'Peaceful' 31 Mar

LD3103024989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2350 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 30 (TANJUG)—Today was a peaceful day in Yugoslavia's autonomous province of Kosovo where Albanian chauvinists and separatists demonstrated and clashed with the security forces over the past seven days.

There were no new demonstrations, and production was nearly normalized in most enterprises.

Two policemen and 21 demonstrators were killed in the riots, and 121 members of the security forces and 92 demonstrators have been badly or slightly injured. The number of people who were injured in the clashes is probably higher, since it is assumed that many will not seek medical help fearing identification.

Sanctions are being taken against those workers who had refused to work over the past few days, and 123 workers have already received prison sentences ranging from 40 to 60 days.

Yugoslav State Presidency Vice President Stane Dolanc said today in the Slovenian Republican Assembly that the security forces in Kosovo only fired in self-defence, adding that interrogations conducted so far have shown that they did not overstep their orders.

Many forums in the country today discussed Kosovo and said that the destructive activities of Albanian chauvinists and separatists should be dealt with more energetically. These forums, including the party and trade union leaderships of the autonomous province of Vojvodina and the party leadership of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, supported the special measures which the Yugoslav Presidency introduced in Kosovo over a month ago.

The Belgrade city Organization of War Veterans said that Albanian chauvinists and separatists were doing everything to destabilize Yugoslavia.

They do not even refrain from sending women and children into the streets, from sending young people to die, cynically refering to late President Tito attempting to hide their aims and internationalize the problem of Kosovo, even at the cost of causing a local war in Yugoslavia.

Fadil Hodza (at the time Yugoslav Presidency member), Xhavid Nimani (at the time Kosovo Presidency president) and Xhevdet Hamza (at the time a top Kosovo official) are the leaders of the counter-revolution in Kosovo, said General Eugen Lebaric, the commander of the military region which included Kosovo during the 1981 demonstrations in the province.

Official Denies Hundreds Killed

AU3103101889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Reports alleging hundreds of killed and hundreds of injured in the recent demonstrations by the Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo are devoid of any foundation, Rajko Calovic, deputy provincial secretary for internal affairs of Kosovo, said.

At a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists in Pristina, Calovic repeated precisely the exact data:

In the demonstrations, two men from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs died. Three more militiamen were wounded by shots from firearms, 9 were badly injured by other objects, and 112 more security service personnel received minor injuries.

Among the demonstrators, 22 were killed or later died of injuries. The number of those seriously or minorly injured among them is 98.

According to Calovic, it is possible that the actual number of injured demonstrators is somewhat larger, because some demonstrators did not seek the aid of the medical service despite their injuries.

Trade Unions Appeal to Workers

LD2903201789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council extended an appeal at today's session, calling on the leaders, organizations, and members of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation to most resolutely persevere in their already proven orientation not to participate in the activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists directed against the destruction of the constitutional system and the fomenting of bloodshed in Kosovo.

In this difficult moment for the country as a whole, workers of Kosovo can best respond to their historic task by personally contributing to the preservation of peace and order and by carrying out their regular production tasks. We are convinced, it is stated in the appeal, that the working class of Kosovo will do its best to restore peace and security in the province and to halt bloodshed.

More Miners at Work

AU3103091689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Another day has begun in apparent calm in Kosovo, without external excesses and with a noticeable increase in the number of workers at work, especially in the mines.

All 127 miners reported for work at the Goles mine. All of the 180 workers called in came to work at the separation and processing plant at this mine, and only 2 employees are absent with justification in the joint services department.

The Kosovo Assembly is in session in Pristina. It is scheduled to adopt the provincial budget for this year.

Representatives of the provincial bodies are answering questions by domestic and foreign journalists about the recent dramatic events in Kosovo.

719 Workers Charged

LD3003143589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Summary] The situation in Kosovo is generally quiet and most miners and other workers are at work.

"Charges have been brought in the magistrates' courts of 11 Kosovo municipalities against 719 workers for their failure to respect the compulsory work orders. Four hundred twenty-three of them will be subjected to disciplinary measures, while 18 have been suspended. (?For this) offense, sentences of 40-60 days in prison will be (?served)."

Reaction to Kosovo Violence Continues

Ambassador Rejects Reports

AU3003124089 Cologne Deutschland Network in German 1100 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Alfred Schroeder report on press conference given by Milan Dragovic, SFRY Ambassador to the FRG, on 30 March in Bonn; recorded statements by Dragovic between quotation marks]

[Text] Ambassador Dragovic has been trying hard to describe the problems in the SFRY as not serious, without, however, playing down the critical situation in the Kosovo region. In a press conference in Bonn, he said that there are no reliable reports from Kosovo about the real situation there, but one thing is clear:

"Events have taken off in a direction nobody wanted. New unrest has erupted in Kosovo with tragic consequences. New casualties have occurred."

However, he denied press reports that mention that at least 100 have been killed and more than 1,000 injured as a result of the bloody disturbances. Ambassador Dragovic said that the official death toll was 21 demonstrators and 2 policemen, and no more than 100 injured. The Belgrade Government sees no danger of a civil war, because the separatists do not enjoy any support among the SFRY population. However, he did not reject reports from Belgrade, according to which the Interior Ministry is no longer excluding an armed uprising of the Albanian nationalists in Kosovo, whose autonomy, critics say, has been heavily restricted by constitutional reform in Serbia. This constitutional reform has established Serbia as a uniform socialist republic, a fact described as essential progress by Ambassador Dragovic. It guarantees the personal and collective rights of the Albanians and other nationalities. It does not mean a drastic curtailment of the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo either, as the press in the FRG has put it, the ambassador said, but instead real progress. The real reason behind the bloody disturbances is the fact that the constitutional changes have definitely thwarted the illusion of the possibility of founding a republic of Kosovo. Says Ambassador Dragovic:

"It is, in fact, the desperate steps of blinded separatists who feel that they are losing the decisive battle of Kosovo, with which they wanted to split the peoples of the SFRY, to divide the country up, and to make their dream of a greater Albania come true."

The vote in the parliamentary assembly of Kosovo has shown that the overwhelming majority of Albanians in Kosovo want a law-governed state, and that they want to develop a better life in peace for themselves. The SFRY cannot permit extremists to endanger the lives and the health of others in the struggle for their political aims, Ambassador Dragovic said, adding that too much blood has already been shed in Yugoslavia in the struggle for territorial and national integrity.

Dolanc on 'Armed Uprising'

LD3003220589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2115 GMT 30 mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, March 30 (TANJUG)—All attempts at developing the current situation in Kosovo into an armed uprising, which is the goal of ethnic Albanian separatists, must be prevented, Vice-President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Stane Dolanc said today.

Speaking at a session of the Slovenian parliament, Dolanc assessed the situation in (the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of) Kosovo as being a serious threat to Yugoslavia's unity and territorial integrity and said it might lead to further and serious complications.

The demonstrations in Kosovo are not only conflicts stemming from ethnic causes, but also a direct attack on Yugoslavia's integrity, Dolanc said.

He firmly denied allegations that several hundred people have been killed in clashes between demonstrants and security forces in Kosovo, and specified that 23 people were killed, including two police officers, and 67 were injured, 18 of whom members of the security force. [sentence as received]

Security officers used fire arms only to defend their lives, Dolanc said and added that Yugoslav Army units had not once intervened.

The special measures introduced by the Yugoslav State Presidency in Kosovo in late February are in keeping with the Yugo legal system, Dolanc pointed out in response to reactions in the Slovenian public that they have no basis in either the law or the Constitution.

Dolanc added that Yugoslavia had informed the U.N. secretary-general about these measures, although there was no formal obligations for it to do so.

The special measures, introduced primarily to prevent bloodshed as a result of ethnic strife in Kosovo, have not been successful, Dolanc assessed.

Deaths which result from political conflicts always exacerbate hatred and provoke retribution, and it is precisely this that we have to prevent and stop, Dolanc said.

He further said that he, personally, as well as the Yugoslav State Presidency, were well aware that security and armed forces alone cannot resolve the current situation in Kosovo. To solve the Kosovo drama it is necessary to indentify its true causes and to intensify organized political activity.

The biggest problem in Yugoslavia, apart from Kosovo, is the economic situation, Dolanc assessed.

Despite agreement having been reached on it, economic reform has been relegated to the background, Dolanc said, and this has resulted in postponing, at enormous risk, the resolution of basic social problems.

Dolanc assessed political relations in the state as being characterized by ideological and political dilemmas on how to surmount the present crisis. There is a conflict between the concepts of true democracy and freedom on one hand and of party monolithism and unitarism on the other.

According to Dolanc, this conflict is not limited by republican or provincial boundaries.

Dolanc maintains that mass rallies and demonstrations cannot become forms of legitimate decision-making in society. Despite justified social demands and criticisms of negative phenomena, many rallies in individual Yugoslav republics and provinces have, in some environments, fomented ethnic discord and virtually disrputed the legal system, Dolanc said.

Dolanc urged political pluralism, but added that he was against the creation of parties.

In the context of the creation of various alliances, associations and committees in the republics Slovenia and Croatia, Dolanc said that nobody had the right to restrict the association of citizens if it should be in keeping with the law and the Constitution.

Freedom of association is a condition of the functioning of Socialist Yugoslavia and an expression of the need for democracy and a socialization of politics, Dolanc said.

He added that some newly formed alliances which act within the socialist alliance, the broadest socio-political organization in the country, were trying to constitute themselves as political parties in the struggle for power. Dolanc stressed that Yugoslavia's existing constitutional and legal system leaves no room for the conventional political parties.

Kucan Gives Speech on Kosovo

AU2903151189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] An expanded session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Slovenia was held in Ljubljana this morning. The current tasks of the reserve officers in our republic were discussed and, because of the burning sociopolitical and economic issues, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, was also invited to the session.

In a talk lasting 1 and ½ hours, Kucan devoted most of his attention to the events in Kosovo and to their causes and consequences for the entire Yugoslav community. He said, among other things:

[Begin Kucan recording] I think that (?the general conclusion at all those sessions yesterday was) that all activities at this moment should be subordinated to the prevention of further bloodshed. Now, of course, I am convinced that discussions will start in Slovenia. You have expressed your support for the emergency measures, and you have said that this was necessary in order to avoid bloodshed. Bloodshed has now occurred.

Now, of course, I must say the following: As I have understood the purpose of the emergency measures, and as far as I have understood your support for them, the aim was to prevent bloodshed between the Albanians on one side and the Serbs and the Montenegrins on the other. This bloodshed has not occurred.

What has occurred is a clash between the Albanian irredentists and the Yugoslav state and the forces that represent the Yugoslav state there. This is tragic. From a political and human point of view, it is less tragic, of course, than if clashes had occurred between people on a national basis.

Twenty-one lives [words indistinct] regardless of who caused all this. The reasoning (?for us) is the same as what we adopted in Slovenia concerning the Stari Trg miners (?and in) the Cankar Hall statement. The policy of squaring accounts with the irredentists, with the counterrevolution, and with Albanian nationalism and separatism, cannot be pursued (?unless the miners support it) [words indistinct].

It is now necessary to state with equal determination that the irredentists, having lost their battle (?against) the Serbian Constitution, have no right to settle their accounts with the lives of their people. [end recording]

Slovene Assembly Adopts Stances

AU3103084589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Yesterday evening the delegates of the three chambers of the Slovene Assembly adopted their stances on currents events in Slovenia, Yugoslavia, and particularly Kosovo. It was assessed that the present policy in Kosovo has not yielded the expected results, regardless of whether this is a consequence of the premises of or the implementation of this policy.

It is believed that in the long run, the Kosovo situation can be solved only through strengthening mutual trust of the people living in the province, with democratic means and equal respect for the human rights of all the citizens. The delegates of the Slovene Assembly set as their chief aim an urgent elimination of the causes for the introduction of emergency measures and the provision of togetherness in Kosovo through the work of legal institutions in a democratic atmosphere.

Slovene Democrats' Statement

AU2903155689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] The Slovene people are unfortunately indirectly taking part in subordinating the demonstrations and in the aggressive policy in Kosovo, although at the Cankar Hall, the Slovenes came out against solving the Kosovo Kosovo problem in such a way. This is said in the statement by the Council of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia concerning the participation of Slovene militiamen in the federal unit in Kosovo.

In the statement, it is demanded, among other things, that the Slovene government do everything in its power to call Slovene militiamen back from the federal unit. We quote: In the event of casualties on our side or the Albanian side, the Slovene people must assume great collective and moral responsibility.

Riots Termed 'Armed Rebellion'

LD3003183989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1417 GMT 30 Mar 89

[By Emir Smajic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—Riots which have been convulsing Yugoslavia's southern province of Kosovo recently have finally shown up the ultimate goals of ethnic Albanian separatists.

In some places in Kosovo, populated by an ethnic Albanian majority and forming part of the Republic of Serbia, disturbances took on the characteristics of an armed rebellion.

Despite allegations to the contrary, these riots are not resistance to constitutional changes in Serbia, just as ethnic Albanian demonstrations and strikes which have been going on since November have not been in support of demands for the resignation of Kosovo political leaders.

They are an open armed rebellion aiming to endanger Yugoslavia's constitutional order and integrity.

The demonstrations, which have left 27 dead so far, are the culmination of a separatist movement which had long been smouldering in the province with neighbouring Albania's more or less open support.

The chauvinist and separatist demonstrations in Kosovo in 1981, backing demands for giving Kosovo republican status, offered the first glimpse of the ultimate designs of this movement. A Kosovo republic would be the first step towards taking the province out of the Yugoslav federation and annexing it to Albania.

A most telling example of this policy in action is provided by the recent incident in the village of Zur, where separatists laid their cards on the table.

On the morning of March 29, a crowd of some 500, pushing women and children up front, charged a police station. They set fire to several police vehicles and started using fire-arms, shooting from the roofs and attics of nearby buildings, forcing the police to fire back. One person died and 13 were wounded in the incident.

The frightened children wanted to run away but were forbidden to do so by the organisers of the attack, who stood at a safe distance.

The latest events in Kosovo show that separatism in the province has entered to so-called "third phase." As state Presidency member Lazar Mojsov told the Federal Assembly early this month, the strategy of ethnic Albanian separatists consists of three phases: first, strikes. Second, street demonstrations and opposition to constitutional changes and, fourth, [number as received] armed rebellion.

All this has one final objective—collapse of Yugoslavia's constitutional order and territorial integrity.

Karakusi Says Trouble Ahead

AU3103121989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina—Although the situation in Kosovo is apparently calming down, organized hostile forces from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism do not rest, but are heralding fresh activities, Jusuf Karakusi, provincial secretary for internal affairs, has told the Kosovo Assembly delegates in Pristina.

The organizers of the hostile demonstrations, with their aggressive behavior and even the use of arms, did not succeed in provoking the security forces in the past few days. Such actions were carried out with the intention of provoking the largest possible number of casualties among the Albanian people and thus their anger at the security service personnel and at Yugoslavia in general, Karakusi said.

Vojvodina Addresses Kosovo

LD3003195889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina Communists, all working people and citizens, and members of nations and nationalities of multinational Vojvodina follow the events in Kosovo with bitterness and concern. They most resolutely condemn the counterrevolutionary enemy attempts of nationalistic forces to jeopardize the constitutional setup, public order, peace, and the security of the country, the statement from today's session of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee states.

At this moment, the activity of the enemy forces in Kosovo, based on Albanian nationalism and separatism, characterized by a high level of organization and a high degree of aggressiveness, and by crude and destructive assaults, presents an open attack on the fundamental orientations of the LCY [LC of Yugoslavia] policy.

The statement stresses that according to the Presidium, united LCY action on resolving problems in Kosovo is needed at this moment more than ever before.

The session stressed that it is particularly important to halt unprincipled campaigns and attacks, as well as confrontations and divisions within public information media so that conditions will be created for carrying out organized and coordinated activities at the national level.

The Communists of Vojvodina believe that all forms of confrontation between leaderships must end, so that an efficient and united action suppressing Albanian nationalists' terror, and based on clear ideological and political bases of the LCY orientations, is made possible.

Vojvodina SAWP Meets, Elects Officials

LD3003194989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Members of the Vojvodina SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Provincial Conference decided today that Dr Dragoje Zarkovic and Dr Dragutin Zelenovic will be candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from Vojvodina. [passage omitted]

The Vojvodina Assembly will elect by secret ballot one member of the Yugoslav collective leadership from Vojvodina from the list of the two proposed candidates by 15 April. [passage omitted]

The conference expressed full and unanimous support for the candidature of Slobodan Milosevic to the post of president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. [passage omitted]

The session said that Vojvodina SAWP organizations unanimously expressed the stance that the formation of any movements and parties outside the Socialist Alliance Organization should not be permitted.

The session assessed that an introduction of a multiparty system in Yugoslavia is in direct contradiction with the nature of our social setup, the party program, and the Yugoslav Constitution. [passage omitted]

The session concluded that the key issue for socialist self-management in Yugoslavia is the question of the form in which pluralism is expressed and organized politically. According to the views of the Vojvodina SAWP, pluralism should be expressed and organized within the Socialist Alliance as the front of organized social forces.

The delegates of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference elected by secret ballot Jelena Milojevic, secretary of the Vojvodina self-managing community of interests for social protection and the self-managing community of interests for protection of children, from the list of three candidates. Ruza Damjakov, Istvan Herceg, Cviko Krunice, Jelena Milojevic, Stevan Panic, Tomislav Stanojev, Nebojsa Vejin, and Nedeljko Tica were elected by public vote as delegates of the SAWPY [SAWP of Yugoslavia] Federal Conference from the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference.

Iles Fistes, Marko Smajevic, Marko Vukajlovic, and Radina Zebeljan were elected as delegates of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference in the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference.

By the delegates' decision, Marko Smajevic and Marko Vukajlovic are, as of today, members of the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference.

Serbian Assembly Appoints New Officials

LD2903202189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Today the chambers of the Serbian Assembly appointed Milomir Jakovljevic as republican public prosecutor. He replaces Dragisa Simic, who has retired. Previously, Jakovljevic held the post of executive secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium.

The chambers appointed Vojislav Zikic, vice president of the management board of the copper mine in Bor, to be the new republican attorney of self-management.

Today Luka Mackic, former president of the republican Committee for Commodity Trade and Services and a member of the republican Executive Council, was appointed director of the republican Social Planning Institute. The director of the institute, Dr Mihajlo Crnobrnja, who is taking up a new post, was released from this post.

Today the delegates of all three chambers accepted the proposal that Djoko Stojicic, chief and executive editor of NIN, be appointed to fill the vacant post of director of the republican Institute for International Scientific, Cultural, Educational and Technical Cooperation.

Today members of the new Serbian Educational Council were appointed.

Stanovnik Delivers Address to Slovene Assembly

LD3003210789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—On the basis of the assessment of the general situation in Slovenia, the Slovene Presidency has reached the decision that all the state and judicial organs are acting normally, within the framework of the Constitution and law, and that they are capable of ensuring constitutionality, legality, and public peace and order. These organs have the full support of citizens, and in this respect, both political and security circumstances in Slovenia do not give cause for concern, stressed Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, at today's joint session of all three chambers of the republican assembly.

According to the assessment of the Presidency, the basic cause of the present situation lies in the crisis of the development model that has become established in the past decades, and which has led to a lagging economy and consequently an inadequate economic structure, general stagnation, and explosive inflation. We do not view the crisis facing all of Yugoslavia as a crisis in the standard of living, but as a development crisis, stressed Stanovnik. According to him, the deep social crisis calls for an evaluation of the basic postulates of society and a sober and clear assessment of solutions. This means a new concept of socialism which brings together the principle of solidarity and the imperative of efficiency, creating a material basis for self-management and introducing motivation by rewarding people according to the results of their work, while drawing political strength from democratic pluralism. There is a certain amount of resistance to the above, warned Stanovnik, by those who oppose such a concept of socialism.

The exponents of this resistance present their views as truly Yugoslav and authentically socialist, while at the same time accusing the reform orientation of departing from socialist principles and converting to confederalism, noted Stanovnik.

In the present political situation, there is also controversy regarding questions connected with the appearance of new social and political movements. Speaking on the subject, Stanovnik said that the Slovene Presidency believes that the present germs of pluralist society in Slovenia are certainly not the cause of the crisis, but the other way around. [passage omitted]

The integration into the federative Socialist Yugoslavia has been motivated by and based mainly on joint interest in ensuring greater security and defense and the joint construction of socialist society. The system of all-people's defense and social self-protection (ONO and DSZ) is part of the socialist self-managing system and a guarantee of effective defense and protection. The Armed Forces—Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and territorial defense—form an important part of this system, said Stanovnik.

The attitude toward the JNA in Slovenia is based on the conviction that this is a joint armed force of all nations and nationalities, which grew out of the National Liberation Army and consequently from the Slovene partisan army, as well, continued Stanovnik. In keeping with this, we have always strived toward its development and consolidation. For this reason, we cannot accept the generalized, and on the whole, unfounded, assessments and accusations regarding Slovenia's attitude toward defense and the JNA, which are continually repeated in Yugoslavia and which are contained in the material on attacks on the system of ONO and JNA, which the Federal Executive Council [FEC] recently sent for analysis to the SFRY Assembly. We reject such assessments, said Stanovnik, because they distort the truth and cast shadows on the sincerity of our attitude, harming the JNA's reputation among our people.

The public information media in Slovenia devotes adequate attention to the ONO and DSZ. Articles are, on the whole, correct and objective, assesses Stanovnik. However, some papers publish texts which are either insulting, tendentious, or even false. "We take on the responsibility of rejecting the insinuations whereby such texts, articles, or statements by individuals are part of a general mood of the Slovene nation or a political orientation of the Slovene sociopolitical leadership," stressed Stanovnik.

Relations between the JNA and Slovenia and the Slovene public in the past year or even less have been burdened with the military trial in Ljubljana, said Stanovnik. In his opinion, events surrounding the trial have drawn attention to very important questions of legality and the realization of human rights. At the same time, they have diverted the attention of people away from the most important questions of our political and economic situation and partly encouraged a negative attitude toward the JNA as an institution, and not just to its individual deeds or views with which we cannot agree, said Stanovnik.

He also noted that our internal conflicts are our most serious problem. The center of these conflicts is Kosovo. The Kosovo drama has concentrated all the problems we are faced with in the broad territory of Yugoslavia—from economic to demographic and even intranational ones, above all the problem of respecting the elementary and inalienable rights of people, believes Stanovnik.

The Kosovo problem was not born yesterday, Stanovnik continued. The tragic position and the emigration of Serbian and Montenegrin populations from the province—under direct and indirect pressure—has been announcing a growing crisis in intranational relations. While permanently concerned, we have always warned that adhering to legality and national equality was a condition for calming the relations in the province. We have made possible the changes to the Serbian Constitution by changing the SFRY Constitution. But the adoption of the Serbian Constitution, which was obviously not backed up by sufficient political activity in Kosovo, caused dissatisfaction among the Albanian population, which irredentists cleverly turned to their advantage, said Stanovnik.

Reactions of citizens in Slovenia to events in Kosovo have proved that the Slovenes are aware of the fact that Kosovo is our common Yugoslav problem, stressed the president of the Slovene Presidency. The fact that the Slovene people reacted so energetically is the proof, thinks Stanovnik, that they are not indifferent to the fate of Yugoslavia or selfishly wrapped up in their own problems.

This concern, previously expressed in numerous statements by the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance, has become especially prominent by the signing of the "solidarity statement". The message from the meeting in the Cankar Hall was unfortunately not understood correctly in some parts of Yugoslavia, thinks Stanovnik, adding that the appeal at the meeting and the "statement" were at the same time an appeal for peaceful fellowship and a warning against escalation, which leads to the use of force and the fomenting of passions and hostility. The recent events, he added, have unfortunately confirmed the justifiability of this concern.

Stanovik added in this connection that concern for human lives was placed in the foreground on the occasion of the strike of Stari Trg miners. "Now, when victims fall in clashes between members of the security forces and demonstrators, our concern is even greater. If we raised our voice for peace and fellowship on the previous occasion, we are now even more justified in doing so," said Stanovnik. According to him, violence does not lead to any longer-term solutions to intrantional problems in Kosovo. The spreading of the Kosovo problem all over the country—in the form of a threat to those who are warning that truth is not just on one side—only spreads the fire instead of putting it out.

In Stanovnik's opinion, the only solution to the present exceptionally serious and dangerous situation lies in the development of a democratic dialogue, understanding among nations and nationalities based on an equal footing, an increase in work for the renewal of economic development, and general social transformation, in order to calm down the passions and return to reason.

Tolerance and responsibility are the preconditions for a democratic dialogue, the only way to reach social agreement and overcome the crisis.

Democracy is undoubtedly the only possible way out of our misfortunes, said Stanovnik. Mass meetings of citizens cannot deny the democratic character of expressing public opinions. Such meetings, however, cannot be the instrument of democratic decisionmaking. It is the loudest ones who make decisions in meetings, and not the most sober ones. For this reason, we should develop a democratic method of decisionmaking through delegate systems and assemblies. We should switch to the system of direct and secret elections of delegates as soon as possible.

Stanovnik also noted that normal channels of information have failed. More and more often, we hear and read about two completely different truths on the same event. If we want to escape from the present whirlpool, we must raise oursleves above morally dual criteria, he said.

In conclusion, Stanovnik pointed out that every effort should be made in the present situation to preserve the constructive mood by consistently assessing realistic circumstances and relations in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, so that we can match the occasion by encouraging responsibility and dignity in political and public communications, far away from national passions.

Slovene Assembly Chambers Reject FEC Report

AU3003125989 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] The Sociopolitical Chamber and the Chamber of the Communes of the Slovene Assembly have adopted a resolution rejecting a statement in the Federal Executive Council report on the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army. The report stated, among other things, that the group of delegates of the Slovene Assembly was illegally interfering in the system of leading and commanding the Armed Forces and in the work of juridical organs, and that it acquainted itself with a military order in an unauthorized way, thus perpetrating a punishable act of betraying military secrets.

The resolution of the chambers says that the Slovene Assembly, on the basis of its original powers, had set up a group of delegates, and that this group acquainted itself with the content of the order in an authorized way, for it was informed about it by Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, on the authorization of the Presidency.

It is not possible to believe that the Federal Executive Council was not acquainted with these facts, the resolution says. The Associated Labor Chamber is to discuss it tomorrow, since it adjourned its session today before the resolution was drafted.

Ljubljana Journalists Face Public Order Charge

LD2903184589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Tetovo, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—We have learned from the Tetovo magistrates' court that charges have been brought against journalists of the Ljubljana 'MLADINA,' against Marjan Horvat and Adrijan Kirsten, and against Ljubljana Radio's Tanj Baresin, who distributed badges with fascist symbols and the double-headed eagle in mid-March in Tetovo, thus violating public peace and order and fomenting national hatred.

The trial, set for 14 April, will be held in Tetovo. Invitations have been sent to journalists.

LCY Presidency Explains Refusal To Relieve Suvar

LD3003182789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists (LCY) Central Committee Presidency did not accept a demand by the Communists of the Yugoslav Vojvodina Province to start proceedings for the relieving of duty of Presidency President Stipe Suvar.

Party organ KOMUNIST in its Thursday [30 March] issue carried an LCY Central Committee Presidency announcement which explains its stand in detail, stressing that an unsubstantiated relieving of duty could increase confrontations in the LCY.

The demand made at a special conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina is statutory and was discussed by the Presidency at its March 7 and 15 sessions, the announcement said.

The paper said that the Presidency rejected the claims by the Vojvodina Communists that an unprincipled coalition in the LCY top had been formed.

The Presidency also considers unfounded claims that Suvar is responsible for the surge of ethnic Albanian separatism in Kosovo province. It underlined that neither the Presidency nor its president are solely responsible for the non-realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo.

About accusations on Suvar's role in creating a rift between the Serbs on the one hand and the Montenegrins and Macedonians on the other, the Presidency self-critically admitted it had not always adequately reacted to political events in the country and in the assessment of their depth, but that its stands in this respect were made on the basis of "collective efforts and not the personal orientations of its president."

Regarding remarks made about Suvar's statement that "mass rallies cannot relieve leaderships," the Presidency said it had informed Suvar about a number of imprecisions in some of his statements, but it underlined its earlier stand that the methods of bribery and pressure

are unacceptable in its cadres policy and that responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidency president and its secretary can only be part of the collective responsibility, which is in turn assessed by the Central Committee.

The Presidency also rejected accusations that Suvar had tried to slow down the recent constitutional changes in Serbia, adding that he had supported the changes and did not act in a different manner on any occasion. His positive stand towards the constitutional changes is noted in Presidency and the LCY Central Committee documents, the announcement said.

The party Presidency did not accept accusations that Suvar had failed to criticize some events in the Republic of Slovenia saying his actions were, in fact, contrary to this and that it was well-known that he opposed all forms of nationalism, which was best proven by his antinationalist activities within his own nation.

The party Presidency president was self-critical about his own work, and the Presidency accepted part of the criticism made by the Vojvodina Communists, the announcement concluded.

Party Reform Document Explained

AU3003193589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 89 p 6

[Final installment of Ivan Torov's article on document concerning the direction of the party's transformation: "How Can the Top Be the Leadership?"]

[Text] With regard to the future organizational structure of the LCY and how to achieve greater efficiency for the party in the newly established, essentially different conditions of socialist development, the Commission of the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] for the Preparation of the Document for the Transformation of the LCY offers quite a few proposals, ideas, and initiatives which will need to be decided upon in the forthcoming public debate.

First of all, it is believed that the basic organizational structure of the League of Communists [LC] should not undergo essential changes in relation to the present situation, which means that the basic organization of the LC, as the basic form of organization, should not be brought into question. It is assessed that the future changes should, however, break up the tendency of a large number of Communists to be self-sufficient and to fence themselves into their LC basic organizations "because Communists are not in their organization in order to shut themselves into it and hold meetings as some kind of ritual..."

Outmoded and New Forms

The following ideas and proposals were also put forward:

A member of the LC should be linked with a place where he can best show initiative and affirm his abilities;

positive and negative elements of the present territorial organization of the LC should be investigated at all levels, as should the possible effects of organization according to work and function, that is, according to branch and group;

it should be determined what is essentially gained with the proposal to establish so-called regional forms of organization;

it should be assessed which solution should be applied for those Communists who belong to their home community because of work, but who live outside it, and whether this problem can be solved through the institution of pooling activities and the organization of Communists and basic organizations;

what more modern ways of organizing Communists should be used in cities with several communes;

it should be assessed whether the regional, that is, the intercommunal degrees of organizing the LC are not an outmoded form;

the possibilities of revitalizing the basic organization in a local community should be examined;

the LCY reform requires a look at the role of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and the way in which it organizes itself and acts, with the aim of further democratizing relations in the LCY and ensuring the successful implementation of LCY policy in developing the Armed Forces.

What Is Blocking the LCY CC?

Much is said in this report about the LCY CC and its future prospects. It is stressed above all that the LCY must decide on some essential proposals and ideas before the 14th congress, but also critically assess previous experience in order to arrive at the real causes of the present unfavorable position of the highest party leadership:

In order for the LCY CC to express itself more directly as a factor in uniting ideopolitical views and directing action; to reach an ideopolitical synthesis of common interests more efficiently; to establish complete unity of thought and action within itself; to direct itself more directly and more specifically toward finding solutions and initiating political action, and reacting more promptly to initiatives, proposals, and criticisms by the membership and organizations, instead of constantly stating weaknesses, difficulties, and frequent appeals to the membership.

It is demanded that an assessment be made of the extent to which the existing organization, method of work, and activity of the LCY CC and the mutual relations among the CC's of the republican LC's and the provincial committees contribute to the adoption of prompt and clear stands, even through this organ.... Then, it should be established where the causes of the frequent blockages are and why the LCY CC is not meeting its obligation to assess the activity of the CC's of the republican LC's and the provincial committees in carrying through decisions and stands....

It should be assessed how to overcome the republican and provincial LC organizations' ever frequent practice of making blanket criticisms of the LCY and its CC, while at the same time demanding from the LCY that it meet or at least harmonize the often diametrically opposed stands of the republican and provincial LC's and ensure unity in the activities of the LCY. How can one eliminate the present practice of opportunistically transferring one's own responsibility to someone else?

The commission also puts forward a view concerning whether to move toward a reduction in the number of members of the LCY CC (for the sake of increasing its efficiency), but also on how to organize its executive organ so that, as considered, the presidents of the Presidiums of the CC's and the LC provincial committees will not enter the body in future.

It is requested that the membership take a stand on the idea—keeping to the principle of equal representation of the republican LC's and the corresponding representation of the provincial LC's and the LCY organization in the YPA—of two-thirds of the members of the LCY CC continuing to be elected from the ranks of candidates proposed at congresses and conferences in the republics and provinces, while one-third would be nominated and elected directly at the LCY congress. In this instance, care would be taken so that the principle of representation of the LC's of the republics, provinces, and the YPA would not be violated.

The commission states that there are also proposals that LCY organs be formed according to the principle of the proportional representation of the LC membership.

To Renew Cultured Dialogue

It should be assessed whether the CC president should be elected in the future or whether the present solution should be maintained, whereby only the president of the executive-political organ is elected: In this case, what would be his powers, how would he be elected, and how long would his term of office last (1, 2, or 4 years)?

Certain changes in the field of cadre policy are also being proposed with the basic aim of strengthening its worker-class character. It is believed that it should be broadly de-professionalized, and that political functions should be separated. The practice of having many duties performed voluntarily should be introduced into all LC organs. It is also necessary to rejuvenate the party with newly trained people, experts, and persistent and principled cadres, who will adapt themselves more easily to the new production conditions and will be the mainstay of the construction of the so-called new socialism.

It is particularly stressed that membership of the LCY should not be permitted to be considered an advantage when it comes to the election of cadres in the economy and society.

Finally, the commission stresses that in the interest of the reform of the LCY, it is necessary to reaffirm the moral components of relations in the LC, principles in political practice, the dignity of polite dialogue, and general revolutionary humanism in its ranks, at all levels and especially in its leaderships.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Congress or Conference

Specific proposals for changes, ideas, and initiatives for consideration are also offered in the future look of elections, LC organs, and the party congress. Thus, it is first of all requested that there be a more complete democratization of the electoral procedure in the LCY and that—through a statutory decision—the application of the principle of direct elections for forums and LCY organs should be worked out even before the 14th congress, as well as the obligation to have a greater number of candidates at all stages and to maintain the secrecy of elections, starting with the nomination conferences in basic and communal organizations through congresses and conferences of parts of the LC, as far as the LCY congress.

The LCY CC Commission also believes that one should more precisely elaborate on the obligation to and methods of changing some members of LCY organs and on their replacement prior to the end of a term of office. Greater importance should be given to the institution of resignations as voluntary moral and personal acts, as well as to the idea of relieving people of their duties in the organs, and there should possibly be the introduction of new institutions, such as the practice of making replacements. It is demanded that the Statute especially define the importance of holding a vote of confidence and of the entire procedure, involved in this act because this is an important question from the point of view of the further democratization of relations and the tightening of responsibility in the LC. It is necessary to more extensively work out the question of collective and individual responsibility, the collective resignation of organs, ato maintain the secrecy of elections, starting with the nomination conferences and to establish who replaces the members until new ones are elected.

The dilemma remains of whether to continue with the present practice of holding a congress every 4 years or, for example, to opt for an LCY conference every year, with a smaller operative executive organ between two conferences. In any case, it is believed that one should democratize and modernize the way of preparing congresses or conferences, and make them more rational and productive.

If the resolution on congresses remains in force, then it is suggested that the Statute define the role and powers of an LCY conference and the convening and preparation of an extraordinary LCY congress, and more strongly emphasize the role of the LCY CC in this.

There is also the proposal that fewer delegates be chosen for an LCY congress, that these be chosen according to the parity principle, and that the delegates possibly hold this position until the next congress. In this case, the congress delegates would meet at least once between congresses, with the basic task of establishing how to implement LCY policy, and possibly correct stands and make changes in the membership of the LCY organs. If this concept is accepted, the question remains of the purpose of the existence of an LCY conference.

If an LCY congress receives greater powers in the nomination and election of LCY CC members—if the proposal on a 4-year term of office is accepted—then the powers of the LCY CC should be reduced when it comes to changing its membership between two congresses, so that these changes would be carried out only at a session of the congress during its term of office. Moreover, if the present solution remains—that the LCY CC can change one-third of its members—then the Statute should regulate the parity ratio and representation so that more than one-third of the members of the LCY CC from the LC of one republic or one province cannot be changed.

And something else: At the time of replacing or dismissing members, it is necessary to apply the same democratic procedure as in elections in the entire LCY: that the membership and the organizations of the LCY should be consulted.

Austria's Mock Conducts Talks, Ends Trip

Meets With Dizdarevic

AU2903114689 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Friedrich Orter report]

[Text] The talks between Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock and the head of government, Markovic—Mock was the first official visitor of the new head of government—focused on bilateral economic projects, such as the tunnel through the Karawanken mountains and the planned highway between Spielfeld and Zagreb, which is to be built with Austrian participation, according to Slovene and Croatian proposals.

During an hour-long exchange of views with President Dizdarevic, the recent serious riots in the autonomous province of Kosovo were also discussed. After the meeting, Mock told Austrian journalists that he has gained the impression that the situation in Kosovo is assessed as very serious by the Yugoslav authorities, that the Yugoslav leadership is convinced that the problem must be solved on a long-term basis, and that Yugoslav officials believe that the intervention by the police is only intended to prevent more violence. A solution to the problem, however, must be found at the political level.

Another topic discussed was regional cooperation within the framework of the Alps-Adria Working Group. The Belgrade news magazine NIN, controlled by Serbia's party leader Milosevic, caused a stir recently when it sharply criticized the working group in a cover story, accusing the republics of Slovenia and Croatia—in a daring interpretation of history—of mourning the fall of the Austro-Hungarian empire, thus trying to question the usefulness of this economic community of interests. In his talks with Mock, head of government Ante Markovic, who is from Croatia, explicitly stressed the usefulness of the Alps-Adria community.

At the moment, Mock is giving a lecture at Belgrade University on the topic, "Austria and European integration."

Exchanges Toasts With Loncar

LD2903212289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Austria have a permanent interest in each other's development because they are neighbors; it is therefore logical that they should also be interested in continuing to develop mutual relations at a bilateral and multilateral level in all fields of cooperation.

This is a mutual thought expressed by Budimir Loncar and Alois Mock, the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia and Austria, in their toasts during a luncheon in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade today.

Among other things, Loncar expressed desire for the deepening of Yugoslav-Austrian relations on a firm and stable basis, which would further contribute to favorable trends, understanding, and orientation to integration in Europe and the world in general.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs expressed personal satisfaction at the fact that during the talks with Mock, he found understanding for the current problems facing Yugoslavia and a desire by Austria to encourage the development of all-embracing goodneighborly cooperation.

Budimir Loncar said that the two countries are also joined together by the benefit of cooperation within the framework of the Alpe-Jadran work organization.

He also pointed out the possibilities of starting cooperation between Yugoslavia and Austria as the two countries which have the Danube in common.

The head of Yugoslav diplomacy referred to civilizational, cultural, and historic aspects of bringing people together in the territories of the two countries, as well as to the good basis for developing relations even more successfully in future.

In reply to his host's toast, Alois Mock, vice chancellor and Austrian foreign minister, said that his stay in Yugoslavia is motivated by the need to examine ways to enrich Austrian-Yugoslav relations and cooperation.

He stressed that the economic reform which the SFRY will carry out represents yet another favorable opportunity to realize the desire to considerably expand mutual relations. "I will strive to personally motivate businessmen in Austria to invest in the Yugoslav economy," said Mock. At the same time, he called on all SFRY businessmen to encourage various aspects of economic cooperation with Austrian partners.

Mock pointed out that Yugoslavia and Austria, as component members of the group of neutral and nonaligned countries, have made a noticeable contribution to efforts to ensure the successful outcome of the Vienna CSCE meeting.

Finally, Alois Mock said that the Slovene and Croat minorities in Austria should be the bridge of cooperation between the two countries and that there are no problems which goodwill among friends cannot solve.

Holds Final Talks

LD2903213389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1736 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Alois Mock, the Austrian vice chancellor and head of the diplomatic service, held final talks in Belgrade today within the framework of Mock's 3-day visit to Yugoslavia. This exchange of opinions gave the opportunity of agreeing on further directions for the cooperation between the two neighboring countries.

One of the topics of the ministerial dialogue was "inspired" by a third country—the FRG—which announced the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs. Austria does not want to do this; it wants to maintain a nonvisa procedure for the SFRY's citizens. An agreement was thus reached to this effect: that teams of experts from both sides of the border should meet and discuss how to anticipate any possible problems.

Loncar and Mock agreed that a seminar should be held in Vienna by this summer, where Yugoslav businessmen can explain to Austrian colleagues the essence and purpose of the economic reform in the SFRY. By doing this, according to Mock, a powerful impetus would be given to stronger ties between the two economies and to growing Austrian investments in Yugoslavia's economy.

A compatibility of opinions was also found in the need for consolidating bilateral cooperation in road and railway traffic. The Austrian vice chancellor expressed support for the construction of the Sentilj-Zagreb motorway, which is envisioned within the framework of the modernization of Yugoslavia's road network.

EFTA's fund for supporting the reformist economic efforts of Yugoslavia was mutually praised as a matter of extraordinary importance. Mock will talk on this issue with his colleagues from the EFTA countries "collecting samples out in the field" and will eventually inform the Yugoslav diplomatic service on how soon this idea will be realized. It also remains to be seen whether the SFRY will attempt to secure the status of an associated member within this European economic group. Time will endorse the possibility of the EC joining the fund, which means that the fund may evolve at some later stage into a joint fund for helping the recovery of Yugoslavia's economy.

Yugoslavia and Austria reiterated that the Slovene and the Croatian minority in Austria ought to be a link in the development of their overall relations. The dialogue on the status of the minorities and Yugoslav workers in Austria will be resumed at the political and expert level.

The SFRY acknowledged the duty to speed up the preliminaries leading to the (already prepared) signing of three interstate agreements: on stimulating and protecting investments, on preventing double taxation, and on environmental protection.

Mock demonstrated his interest in the course of the final talks in the political dialogue between the EC and Yugoslavia, particualrly in view of the fact that Yugoslavia's position, as a partner for talks, will be more firm once it finds itself in the capacity of the presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement after the September summit in Belgrade. Budimir Loncar spoke in detail about this, as well as about inter-Balkans cooperation and Yugoslavia's relations with its neighbors.

Yugoslavia and Austria, as members of the group of neutral and nonaligned countries within the CSCE, agreed on close cooperation on all the issues from the agenda of the CSCE's session in Vienna.

Departs for Vienna

LD3003145189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Alois Mock, Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister, ended his 3-day official visit to Yugoslavia and left for Vienna this afternoon.

The high-ranking visitor from friendly, neighboring Austria was seen off at Zagreb airport by Ivica Trnokop, member of the Croat Executive Council and chairman of the republican Committee for Foreign Relations, and by Camillo Schwartz [name as received] consul-general of the Austrian Republic in Zagreb.

Brigic Meets Wu Xueqian in Beijing
LD2903201289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Beijing, March 29 (TANJUG)—Chinese Party Politburo Member Wu Xueqian and Yugoslav Party Presidency Member Ivan Brigic confirmed the resolve of the two parties here today to promote relations by exchanging experiences on the construction of socialism.

They paid special attention to separatist problems confronting Yugoslavia in Kosovo and China in Tibet.

Brigic said that the situation in Kosovo, scene of ethnic Albanian chauvinist and separatist efforts, was an all-Yugoslav problem and that Yugoslavia was determined to solve it in the interest and for the well-being of all.

Wu and Brigic said it was necessary to intensify bilateral economic cooperation.

They discussed new trends in Socialist countries, including calls for the establishment of so-called "opposition parties". Both sides consider that the establishment of such parties is practically unacceptable and that different opinions can be expressed within the framework of the existing socio-political organisations.

Spokesman Condemns Tirana Attitude Toward Unrest
LD3003183289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1508 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—Through its ambassador in Tirana, Yugoslavia has taken the "necesary energetic steps with the Albanian Government" in connection with articles in the Albanian press and statements by some officials which objectively encourage destructive activities of greater-Albanian separatists in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl said today.

Vajgl told a regular press conference in Belgrade that the conduct of Tirana is contrary to the statements made by ranking Albanian officials claiming that Albania is interested in peace and calm in the province of Kosovo, populated predominantly by ethnic Albanians, where Albanian separatists have been active for years. It is also contrary to their claims that no support is to be given to anyone acting against the stability of Yugoslavia and its constitutional order, he added.

"Convinced that any form of the development of good-neighbourly relations implies noninterference and mutual respect as a minimum requirement, we shall not fail to protect our legitimate interests," Vajgl said categorically.

Vajgl specified that everything he said also concerned yesterday's attacks on Yugoslavia made by Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile in Paris. Vajgl added, however, that Yugoslavia sees no need to enter a polemic with a foreign minister of another country at a time when he is visiting a third country. "We have enough possibilities to inform the Albanian side about everything we think, and that is what we are doing," he said.

Vajgl noted that the question of Yugoslav minorities in Albania is permanently on the agenda of Yugoslav-Albanian talks and said that Yugoslavia will also take new steps, envisaged by international law, to protect their rights.

When it is known that the Albanian and other nationalities in Yugoslavia have equal rights as Yugoslav nations, both under the Constitution and in practice, then it is clear that Yugoslavia has a full moral right to demand a corresponding treatment for members of its nations in neighbouring countries, stressed Vajgl.

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